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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, enlarged and greatly improved.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS GRACE

FRANCIS,

DUKE OF BEDFORD,

THIS

IMPROVED EDITION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE

IS

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS GRACE's MOST HUMBLE,

AND

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

Gray's Inn,
May 29, 1786.

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A PERSUASION of the Utility of a conciſe Hiſtory of Modern Europe, induced the Author to undertake this Work; and he has had the Satisfaction to find his Opinion juſtified by that of the Public. The Epiſtolary Form was choſen, as beſt calculated for uniting the Accuracy of the Chronologer with the Entertainment of the Memorialiſt. And the Character of a Nobleman and a Father was aſſumed, in order to give more Weight to the Moral and Political Maxims, and to enable the Author to introduce, without ſeeming to dictate to the World, thoſe Reflections on Life and Manners which are ſuppoſed to be beſt underſtood by the higher Orders in Society.

To this Edition, which is much enlarged and improved, is added a Chronological Table of Contents.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS to the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

LETTER I.

The DECLINE *and* FALL *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE, *with the* SETTLEMENT *of the* BARBARIANS.

LETTER I.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, finiſhed your courſe of Ancient Hiſtory, under your preceptor: the Modern I will take upon myſelf. The eſtabliſhment of the preſent European nations; the origin of our laws, manners, and cuſtoms; the progreſs of ſociety, of arts, and of letters, demand your particular attention, and were ill committed to the diſquiſitions of a mere ſcholar.

EUROPE is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to moſt advantage, and where ſociety has attained its moſt perfect form, both in ancient and

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modern times: its hiſtory will, therefore, furniſh us with every thing neceſſary in the ſtudy of men or of kingdoms. I ſhall, however, turn your eye occaſionally on the other parts of the globe, that you may have a general idea, at leaſt, of the ſtate of the univerſe. But before I proceed to the hiſtory of Modern Europe, it will be proper to refreſh your memory with a ſhort account of its ancient inhabitants, and its ſituation at the ſettlement of the preſent nations.

THE inhabitants of ancient Europe may be divided into three claſſes, Greeks, Romans, and *Barbarians*; or thoſe nations the two former were pleaſed to call ſo, becauſe leſs civilized than they. With the Greek and Roman ſtory you are perfectly acquainted: and the ſubject, at any rate, is too extenſive to be even glanced over here. I ſhall therefore only remind you, That the Greeks, the moſt poliſhed people of antiquity, inhabited the maritime parts of the country now known by the name of European Turkey; that, when corrupted, they were conquered by the Romans, as were moſt nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; that, after the conqueſt of Greece, the Romans turned their arms upon the northern nations or the Barbarians, the Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, whom they alſo in a great meaſure ſubdued, by their ſuperiority in the art of war, but not with the ſame facility they had overcome the voluptuous nations of the Eaſt. A ſingle battle did not decide the fate of a kingdom. Thoſe brave and independent people, though often defeated, reſumed their arms with freſh valour, and defended their poſſeſſions and their liberties with obſtinate courage. But after a variety of ſtruggles, in which many of them periſhed in the field, and many were carried into ſlavery, a miſerable remnant ſubmitted to the Romans; while others fled to their mountains for freedom, or took refuge in the inacceſſible corners of the North. There they lived in foreſts and faſtneſſes,

ſurrounded

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A. D. 476.

ſurrounded by lakes and frozen ſhores, till time had ripened the ſeeds of deſtruction; when ruſhing forth like an overflowing flood, and ſweeping every thing before them, they deſolated the moſt fertile provinces of the earth; overturned the vaſt fabric of the Roman empire, the work and the wonder of ages, taking vengeance on the murderers of mankind; eſtabliſhed on its ruins new governments and new manners, and accompliſhed the moſt ſignal revolution in the hiſtory of nations [1].

HERE we muſt make a pauſe, in order to conſider the moral and political cauſes of that great event, and its influence on the ſtate of ſociety.

As ſoon as the Romans had ſubdued the north of Europe, they ſet themſelves to civilize it. They tranſferred into the conquered countries their laws, manners, arts, ſciences, language, and literature. And ſome have thought theſe a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of liberty and independency. But you, I hope, will judge very differently, whatever veneration you may have for the Roman name.

GOOD laws are eſſential to good government, arts and ſciences to the proſperity of a nation, and learning and politeneſs to the perfection of the human character. But theſe, in order to exalt a people, muſt be the reſult of the natural progreſs of civilization, not of any adventitious ferment or violence from abroad. The fruits of ſummer are ripened in winter by art; but the courſe of the ſeaſons is neceſſary to give them their

1. It was long faſhionable with modern writers, but eſpecially thoſe of a claſſical turn, to rail againſt their rude anceſtors, and lament the fall of the Roman empire as a great misfortune to the human race. This miſtake ſeems to have ariſen from an admiration of ancient literature, and an imperfect knowledge of hiſtory; from not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing between the extinction of Roman liberty, and the deſtruction of Roman deſpotiſm.

PART I.

proper flavour, their proper ſize, or their proper taſte. The ſpontaneous produce of the foreſt, tho' ſomewhat harſh, is preferable to what is raiſed by ſuch forced culture: and the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the barbarian, are ſuperior to all that can be taught the ſlave. When mankind are obliged to look up to a maſter for honour and conſequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown, cunning takes place of wiſdom, and treachery of fortitude; the mind loſes its vigour, the heart its generoſity, and man, in being poliſhed, is only debaſed.

THIS truth was never, perhaps, more ſtrikingly exemplified than in the hiſtory of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumſtance, haſtened its final diſſolution; for although the conquered nations were by that means more eaſily kept in ſubjection, they became unable to reſiſt a foreign enemy, and might be conſidered as decayed members of the body politic, which increaſed its ſize without increaſing its ſtrength. An appearance of proſperity, indeed, ſucceeded to the havock of war: the ruined cities were rebuilt, and new ones founded; population flouriſhed; civilization advanced; the arts were cultivated; but the martial and independent ſpirit of the people of the nothern provinces was ſo totally extinct in a few centuries, that inſtead of preferring death to ſlavery, like ſo many of their illuſtrious anceſtors, they patiently ſubmitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleaſed to levy. And the deſcendants of thoſe gallant warriors, who had diſputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæſar and Germanicus, were unable to oppoſe the moſt deſultory inroads of a troop of undiſciplined barbarians. They were become incapable of either thinking or acting for themſelves. Hence all the countries, which had been ſubjected to the Roman

yoke

yoke, fell a prey to the firſt invader, after the imperial forces were withdrawn. LETTER I.

MANY other cauſes contributed to the diſſolution of the Roman Empire, beſide the debility occaſioned by its unwieldy corpulence.

ROME owed her dominion as much to the manners as to the arms of her citizens [2]. Their dignity of ſentiment; their love of liberty and of their country; their paſſion for glory; their perſeverance in toils; their contempt of danger and of death; their obedience to the laws; and, above all, their civil conſtitution and military diſcipline, had extended and cemented the conqueſts of the Romans. The very injuſtices of that ſovereign people (for I ſpeak of the times of the republic) were covered with a certain majeſty, which made even tyranny reſpectable. But their government carried in its boſom the ſeeds of deſtruction. The continual jealouſy between the patricians and plebeians, the ſenate and the people, without any balancing power, made the ruin of the republic inevitable, as ſoon as the manners were relaxed: and a relaxation of manners was neceſſarily produced, by the pillage of Greece and the conqueſt of Aſia; by the contagious refinements of the one, and the influx of wealth from the other [3].

2. "Think not," ſaid Cato to the Roman ſenate, "it was merely "by force of arms that our forefathers raiſed this republic from a low "condition to its preſent greatneſs: —— no! but by things of a very "different nature —— induſtry and diſcipline at home, abſtinence and "juſtice abroad, a diſintereſted ſpirit in council, unblinded by paſſion, "and unbiaſſed by pleaſure." Salluſt. *Bell. Catilin.*

3. It was in the delicious climate and pleaſurable groves of Aſia, ſays Salluſt, that the army of the Roman people firſt learned to abandon themſelves to wine and women — to admire pictures, ſtatues, and vaſes of curious workmanſhip — and to ſpare nothing civil or ſacred to come at the poſſeſſion of them. *Bell. Catilin.*

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THE fall of Carthage, and the expulſion of the Gauls out of Italy, though ſeemingly the two moſt fortunate events in the Roman hiſtory, contributed alſo to a change of manners, and to the extinction of Roman liberty. While Carthage ſubſiſted, the attention of all parties was carried toward that rival ſtate; to defend themſelves, or annoy their enemies, was the only care of the Romans: and as long as the Gauls had poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the ſenſe of a common danger; but no ſooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiouſneſs; party claſhed with party. A maſter became neceſſary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the ſtate. Intereſt and vanity made courtiers; force or fear, ſlaves. The people were diſarmed by the jealouſy of deſpotiſm, and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court. Effeminacy, debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious vice, was common upon the throne.

A NEW ſource of ruin diſcloſed itſelf. Some diſputed ſucceſſions having made the army ſenſible that the ſovereignty was in their hands, they thenceforth ſold it to the higheſt bidder. Sporting with the lives of their princes, as formerly with the laws of the republic, they created emperors only to extort money from them, and afterwards maſſacred them, in order to extort like ſums from their ſucceſſors. Emperors were oppoſed to emperors, and armies diſputed the pretenſions of armies. With obedience diſcipline was loſt. Wiſe princes endeavoured, but in vain, to reſtore it: their zeal to maintain the ancient military regulations only expoſed them to the fury of the ſoldiery; the very name of diſcipline was a ſignal for revolt

volt. The armies of Rome did not now conſiſt of free men, who had voluntarily choſen a military life; or who, in obedience to the laws, ſerved for a term of years, but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or barbarians bribed into the ſervice, as more able to undergo the fatigues of war. Her ſoldiers were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country, they were its oppreſſors; they were licenſed robbers, inſatiable of plunder. LETTER I.

In order to prevent the continual treaſons of the ſoldiery, but eſpecially of the Pretorian bands, the emperors aſſociated with themſelves in the ſupreme power their ſons, their brothers, or ſuch perſons as they could truſt; and every emperor elected a Cæſar, or ſucceſſor. They likewiſe ſubdivided, and conſequently diminiſhed, the power of the Pretorian prefects, who were the grand viziers of their time, appointing four inſtead of two. By theſe means the imperial ſeat was rendered more ſecure: the emperors were permitted to die in their beds; manners were ſoftened, and leſs blood was ſhed by ferocity; but the ſtate was waſted by an enormous expence, and a new ſpecies of oppreſſion took place, no leſs diſgraceful to humanity than the former maſſacres. The tyranny was transferred from the ſoldiery to the prince: the cauſe and the mode were changed, but the effect was the ſame. Shut up within the walls of a palace, ſurrounded by flatterers and women, and ſunk in the ſoftneſs of Eaſtern luxury, thoſe maſters of empire governed in ſecret by the dark and ſubtle artifices of deſpotiſm. Iniquitous judgements, under the form of juſtice, ſeemed only to ſet death at a diſtance, in order to make life more miſerable, and exiſtence more precarious. Nothing was ſaid, all was inſinuated: every man of prime reputation was accuſed; and the warrior and the politician daily ſaw themſelves at the mercy of

PART I. ſycophants, who had neither ability to ſerve the ſtate themſelves, nor generoſity to ſuffer others to ſerve it with honour [4].

The removal of the imperial court to Conſtantinople, to ſay nothing of the ſubſequent diviſion of the empire into the Eaſtern and Weſtern, was a new blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewiſe to its ſecurity: for the veteran legions, that guarded the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, were alſo removed to the Eaſt, in order to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, ſunk into a ſtate of the moſt annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by an Aſiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deſerted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itſelf; and when the crops of Sicily and Africa failed, the people breathed nothing but ſedition.

THESE diſcontents, occaſioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by thoſe of religion. Chriſtianity had long been making progreſs in the empire, it now aſcended the throne of the Cæſars. As the Chriſtians had formerly been perſecuted, they, in their turn, became perſecutors. The Gods of Rome were publicly inſulted, their ſtatues were broken, their votaries were harraſſed. Penal ſtatutes were enacted againſt the ancient worſhip: the puniſhment of death was denounced againſt the ſacrifices formerly ordained by law; the altar of Victory was overturned, the Croſs was exalted in its ſtead, and diſplayed in place of that triumphant eagle, under which the world had been conquered [5]. The moſt dreadful hates and animoſities

4. Monteſq. *Conſiderat. ſur les Cauſes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Decad.* chap. xv. xvi. xvii. and the authors there cited, but eſpecially Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zoſimus.

5. Four reſpectable deputations were ſucceſſively voted to the imperial court, repreſenting the grievances of the prieſthood and the ſenate, and ſoliciting the reſtoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this

ties aroſe. The Pagans accuſed the Chriſtians of all their misfortunes: they rejoiced in the midſt of the greateſt calamities, as if the Gods had been come in perſon to take vengeance on the deſtroyers of their altars; while the Chriſtians affirmed, that the remains of Paganiſm alone had drawn down the wrath of Omnipotence. Both parties were more occupied about their religious diſputes than the common ſafety: and, to complete the miſeries of this unhappy people, the Chriſtians became divided among themſelves. New ſects ſprung up; new diſputes took place; new jealouſies and antipathies raged; and the ſame puniſhments were denounced againſt Heretics and Pagans. An univerſal bigotry debaſed the minds of men. In a grand aſſembly of the provinces, it was propoſed, that, as there are three perſons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors. Sieges were raiſed, and cities loſt, for the ſake of a bit of rotten wood, or withered bone, which was ſuppoſed to belong to ſome ſaint or martyr. The effeminacy of the age mingled itſelf with this infatuation; and generals, more weak than humane, ſat down to mourn the calamities of war, when they ſhould have led on their troops to victory [6]. LETTER I.

THE character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend was, in all reſpects, the reverſe of

this important buſineſs was entruſted to Symmachus, a noble and eloquent ſenator, who thus makes Rome herſelf plead, before the imperial tribunal, in favour of the ancient worſhip:—"Theſe rites have "repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. "Were my grey hairs reſerved for ſuch intolerable diſgrace? I am ig"norant of the new ſyſtem that I am required to adopt; but I am "well aſſured; that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful "and ignominious office." Symmach. lib. x. epiſt. 54.

6. Monteſq. *Conſiderat.* &c. chap. xviii—xxii. See alſo Gibbon's *Hiſt of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii—vi. and the authors quoted in both works.

PART I.

their own? Thoſe northern adventurers, or Barbarians, as they were called, breathed nothing but war: their martial ſpirit was yet in its vigour: they ſought a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their forests and mountains: the ſword was their right; and they exerciſed it, without remorſe, as the right of nature. Barbarous they ſurely were, but they were ſuperior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as in valour. Simple and ſevere in their manners, they were unacquainted with the word luxury; any thing was ſufficient for their extreme frugality: hardened by exerciſe and toil, their bodies ſeemed inacceſſible to diſeaſe or pain: war was their element; they ſported with danger, and met death with expreſſions of joy. Tho' free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders; becauſe they followed them from choice, not from conſtraint, the moſt gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were theſe their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the ſanctity of the marriage bed; their generous hoſpitality, their deteſtation of treachery and falſehood. They poſſeſſed many maxims of civil wiſdom, and wanted only the culture of reaſon to conduct them to the true principles of ſocial life 7.

WHAT could the divided, effeminate, and now daſtardly Romans oppoſe to ſuch a people? Nothing but fear and folly; or, what was ſtill more ignominious, treachery. Soon convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appeaſe their invaders by money: but that peace could not be of long continuance, which put thoſe who ſold it in a better condition

7. Tacit. *de Moribus Germ.* Priſcus, *Excerpt. de Legat.* Jornandes, *de Reb. Get.* "As in poliſhed ſocieties," ſay Ammianus Marcellinus, ſpeaking of the Huns, "eaſe and tranquillity are courted, they delight in war and dangers. He who falls in battle is reckoned happy; while they, who die of old age or diſeaſe, are held infamous." *Hiſt.* lib. xxxi.

to

to ſell another. Force is ſeldom juſt. Theſe voluntary contributions were changed into a tribute, which was demanded as a right; and war was denounced when it was refuſed, or fell ſhort of the cuſtomary ſum. Tributes were multiplied upon tributes, till the empire was drained of its treaſure. Another expedient was then fallen upon: large bodies of the barbarians were taken into pay, and oppoſed to other barbarians. This mode of defence, ſo contrary to the practice of the firſt Romans, anſwered for the moment, but terminated in ruin: thoſe auxiliaries proved the moſt dangerous enemies of the empire. Already acquainted with the Roman luxuries, the Roman wealth, and the Roman weakneſs, they turned their arms againſt their maſters, inviting their countrymen to come and ſhare with them in the ſpoils of a people undeſerving of ſo many accommodations. They were likewiſe become acquainted with what little military ſkill yet remained among the Romans; and that, ſuperadded to their natural intrepidity, made them perfectly irreſiſtible. A third expedient, yet more unworthy of the Roman name, was had recourſe to: aſſaſſination was employed by the emperors againſt thoſe princes, or leaders, whoſe arms they feared; it was even concealed beneath the maſk of friendſhip, and perpetrated under the roof of hoſpitality! in the convivial hour, and at the feſtive board[8].

LETTER I.

THIS diabolical practice, the want of faith, and other unmanly vices of the Romans, not only account for the total ſubverſion of their empire, but alſo for many of the cruelties of the conquerors. Inflamed with the paſſion of revenge, no leſs than the thirſt of conqueſt or the luſt of plunder, the inflexible and high ſpirited, though naturally generous Barbarians, were equally deaf to the offers of treaty and the voice of

8. Monteſquieu and Gibbon, ubi ſup.

ſup-

PART I. ſupplication. Wherever they marched, their route was marked with blood. The moſt fertile and populous provinces were converted into deſerts. Italy, and Rome itſelf, was often pillaged. New invaders, from regions more remote and barbarous, drove out, or exterminated the former ſettlers: and Europe was ſucceſſively laid waſte, till the North, by pouring forth its myriads, was drained of people, and the ſword of ſlaughter tired of deſtroying.

In leſs than an hundred years after the firſt northern invaſion, ſcarce any remains of the laws, manners, arts, or literature of the Romans were left in our quarter of the globe. At the beginning of the ſixth century, the Viſigoths had poſſeſſed themſelves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Oſtrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, cuſtoms, dreſſes; new names of men and of countries everywhere prevailed. A total change was produced in the ſtate of Europe [9].

How far this change ought to be lamented, is not now a matter of much diſpute. The human ſpecies was reduced to ſuch a degree of debaſement by the preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm, that we can hardly be ſorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting, at the ſame time, that this revolution was the

9. Africa was already over-run by the Vandals, who had deſolated it with fire and ſword; and a ſimilar change was ſoon to take place in the ſtate of Aſia, great part of which was ſtill ſubject to the emperors of Conſtantinople. Theſe emperors, though gradually robbed of their Aſiatic provinces by the followers of Mahomet, continued to preſerve, in the Eaſt, an image of the Roman greatneſs, long after Rome had been ſacked by the Barbarians, and the Roman dominion finally extinguiſhed in the Weſt.

work

work of nations ſo little enlightened by ſcience or poliſhed by civilization: for the Roman laws, though ſomewhat corrupted, were yet in general the beſt that human wiſdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined, were ſtill ſuperior to any thing found among rude nations, or which thoſe who ſpurned them produced for many ages. LETTER I.

THE contempt of the Barbarians for the Roman improvements is not wholly, however, to be aſcribed to their ignorance, nor the ſuddenneſs of the revolution to their deſolating fury: the manners of the conquered muſt come in for a ſhare. Had the Romans not been in the loweſt ſtate of national degeneracy, they might ſurely have civilized their conquerors; had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were men of great abilities, and ſeveral of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans: but they were juſtly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example, and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwiſe [10]. They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the ſtately building, and burying in its ruins the fineſt works of human ingenuity: they ate out of veſſels of wood, and made the vanquiſhed be ſerved in veſſels of ſilver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expenſive pleaſure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to ſaunter, or indolence to loll; and they paſtured their herds, where they might have raiſed a luxuriant harveſt. They prohibited their

10. "When we would brand an enemy," ſays an enlightened barbarian, "with diſgraceful and contumelious appellations, we call him a *Roman*; a name which comprehends whatever is baſe, cowardly, avaricious, luxurious — lying, and all other vices." Luitprand. *Legat.* ap. Murat. vol. ii.

chil-

PART I. children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; becauſe they concluded from the daſtardlineſs of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue will never dare to meet a ſword with an undaunted eye [11]. Upon the ſame principle they rejected the Roman juriſprudence. It reſerved nothing to the vengeance of man: they therefore, not unphiloſophically, thought it muſt rob him of his active powers. Nor could they conceive how the perſon injured could reſt ſatisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injuſtice. Hence all thoſe judicial combats, and private wars, which for many ages deſolated Europe.

In what manner light aroſe out of this darkneſs, order out of this confuſion, and taſte out of this barbariſm, we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the courſe of hiſtory: how genius and magnificence diſplayed themſelves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and was exploded; how the ſons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proſcribed, and wept over the ruins of thoſe ſculptures, paintings, buildings, which they could not reſtore; digging from dunghills, and the duſt of ages, the models of their future imitations, and enervating themſelves with the ſame arts which had enervated the Romans.

In the mean time we muſt take a view of the ſyſtem of policy and legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians on their firſt ſettlement.

11. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* lib. i.

LET-

LETTER II.

The SYSTEM *of* POLICY *and* LEGISLATION *eſtabliſhed by the* BARBARIANS, *on their* SETTLEMENT *in the* PROVINCES *of the* ROMAN EMPIRE.

LETTER II.

THE ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, had a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The ſame leading character, and the ſame degree of conformity was alſo obſervable among their more modern deſcendants, who, under the names of Goths and Vandals, diſmembered the Roman empire. Alike diſtinguiſhed by a love of war and of liberty, by a perſuaſion that force only conſtitutes right, and that victory is an infallible proof of juſtice, they were equally bold in attacking their enemies, and in reſiſting the abſolute domination of any one man. They were free even in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. Matters of little conſequence were determined by the principal men, but the whole community aſſembled to deliberate on national objects. The authority of their kings or generals, who owed their eminence entirely to their military talents, and held it by no other claim, was extremely limited: it conſiſted rather in the privilege of adviſing, than in the power of commanding. Every individual was at liberty to chuſe whether he would engage in any warlike enterpriſe. They therefore followed the chieftain who led them forth in queſt of new ſettlements from inclination, not controul[1]; as

1. Cæſar. *de Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. Tacit. *de Moribus German.* cap. xiv. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxxi. Priſ. *Rhet.* ap. Byz. Script. vol. i.

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volunteers who offered to accompany him, not as ſoldiers whom he could order to march. They conſidered their conqueſts as common property, in which all had a right to ſhare, as all had contributed to acquire them: nor was any obligation whatſoever entailed on the poſſeſſors of lands thus obtained. Every one was the lord of his own little territory.

But after ſettling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquiſitions to maintain not only againſt the ancient inhabitants, but alſo againſt the inroads of new invaders, the northern conquerors ſaw the neceſſity of a cloſer union, and of relinquiſhing ſome of their private rights for public ſafety. They continued, therefore, to acknowledge the general who had led them to victory: he was conſidered as the head of the colony; he had the largeſt ſhare of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every inferior officer and ſoldier, upon receiving a ſhare according to his military rank, tacitly bound himſelf to appear againſt the enemies of the community [2].

This new diviſion of property, and the obligations conſequent upon it, gave riſe to a ſpecies of government formerly unknown, and which is now diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Feudal System. The idea of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from a military eſtabliſhment. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had ſeized, continued ſubordinate to military command, and ranged under its proper officers, who were to hold themſelves ready to aſſemble whenever occaſion ſhould require their united operations or counſels.

But that ſyſtem of policy, apparently ſo well calculated for national defence or conqueſt, and which prevailed for ſeveral centuries in almoſt every kingdom

2. Du Cange, *Gloſſ.* voc. *Milites* et *Aledis.*

of

of Europe, did not ſufficiently provide for the interior order and tranquillity of the ſtate. The bond of political union was feeble: the ſources of diſſenſion were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very frame of the conſtitution. The partial diviſion of the conquered lands, which were chiefly ſwallowed up by the great officers, gave the few a dangerous aſcendency over the many. The king or general, by his ſuperior allotment, had it amply in his power to reward paſt ſervices or attach new followers, for the purpoſe of future wars. With this view he parcelled out his lands; binding thoſe, on whom he beſtowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprizes, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles, or great officers, followed his example, annexing the ſame conditions to their benefices or grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vaſſals, like ſo many independent princes, whenever their pride, or their property was injured. They diſputed the claims of the ſovereign; they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms againſt him [3]. A ſtrong barrier was thus formed againſt a general deſpotiſm in the ſtate; but the nobles themſelves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior diſtrict, holding the people in ſervitude, and preventing any regular adminiſtration of juſtice, every one claiming that prerogative within his own domains. Nor was this the only privilege thoſe haughty nobles uſurped: they alſo extorted from the crown the right of coining money in their own name, and of carrying on war againſt their private enemies [4].

In conſequence of theſe encroachments on the royal prerogative, the powerful vaſſals of the crown obtain-

3. Monteſquieu, *L' Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxx. xxxi.

4. Monteſquieu, ubi ſupra. Robertſon. Introd. *Hiſt. Charles* V. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* Append. ii.

PART I.

ed a grant during life, and afterwards one including their heirs, of ſuch lands as they had originally held only during pleaſure: and they appropriated to themſelves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and of truſt, which became hereditary in many families. The ties which connected the principal members of the conſtitution with its head were diſſolved: almoſt all ideas of political ſubjection were loſt, and little appearance of feudal ſubordination remained. The nobility openly aſpired at independency: they ſcorned to conſider themſelves as ſubjects; and a kingdom, conſiderable in name and extent, was often a meie mock-monarchy, and actually conſiſted of as many ſeparate principalities as it contained powerful barons. A thouſand feuds and jealouſies ſubſiſted among them, and gave riſe to as many wars[5]. Hence every country in Europe, waſted or kept in continual alarm by theſe internal hoſtilities, was filled with caſtles and places of ſtrength, to protect the inhabitants againſt the fury of their fellow-ſubjects.

KINGDOMS ſo divided, and torn by domeſtic broils, were little capable of any foreign effort. The wars of Europe, therefore, during ſeveral centuries, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, reſembled more the wild and deſultory incurſions of pirates, or banditti, than the regular and concerted operations of national force. Happily, however, for poſterity, the ſtate of every kingdom was nearly the ſame; otherwiſe all muſt have fallen a prey to one: the independent ſpirit of the North might have been extinguiſhed for ever; and the preſent harmonious ſyſtem of European policy, which ſo glorioufly ſtruggled from the chaos of anarchy, would have ſunk in eternal night.

5. Id. ibid.

THE

LETTER II.

THE particular manner in which the Barbarians, or northern invaders, conducted their judicial proceedings, when they firſt ſettled in the provinces of the Roman empire, cannot now be diſtinctly aſcertained: but their form of government, their manners, and a variety of other circumſtances, lead us to believe it was nearly the ſame with that which prevailed in their original countries; where the authority of the magiſtrate was ſo limited, and the independency of individuals ſo great, that they ſeldom admitted any umpire but the ſword. "We ſubmit not our competi-"tions to the judgment of men," was their language; "and, even among the gods, we appeal only "to Mars[6]."

OUR moſt ancient hiſtorical records juſtify this opinion: they repreſent the exerciſe of juſtice in all the kingdoms of Europe, and the ideas of men with reſpect to equity, as little different from thoſe which prevail in a ſtate of nature, and which deform the firſt ſtages of ſociety in every country. Reſentment was almoſt the ſole motive for proſecuting crimes; and the gratification of that paſſion, more than any view to the proſperity and good order of ſociety, was the end, and alſo the rule in puniſhing them. He that ſuffered the wrong, was the only perſon who had a right to purſue the aggreſſor; to demand or remit the puniſhment:—and he might accept of a compenſation for any offence how heinous ſoever. The proſecution of criminals in the name, and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now juſtly deemed the great object of legiſlation, was a maxim of juriſprudence then little underſtood in theory, and ſtill leſs regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in moſt caſes, do no more than appoint the liſts, and

6. Ferguſon, *Eſſay on the Hiſt. of Civil Society*, part ii.

PART I. leave the parties to decide their cauſe by the ſword. Fierce and haughty nobles, unuſed to the reſtraints of law, conſidered it as infamous to give up to another the right of determining what reparation they ſhould accept of, or with what vengeance they ſhould reſt ſatisfied: they ſcorned to appeal to any tribunal but their own right-arm. And if men of inferior condition ſometimes ſubmitted to award or arbitration, it was only to that of the leader whoſe courage they reſpected, and whom in the field they had been accuſtomed to obey [7]. Hence every chieftain became the judge of his tribe in peace, as well as its general in war.—The pernicious effects of this power upon government and upon manners, and the many abſurd modes of trial eſtabliſhed before its abolition, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve in the hiſtory of every modern kingdom.

THE feudal ſyſtem, however, with all its imperfections, and the diſorders to which it gave birth, was by no means ſo debaſing to humanity as the uniform preſſure of Roman deſpotiſm. Very different from that dead calm which accompanies peaceful ſlavery, and in which every faculty of the ſoul ſinks into a kind of ſomnolency, it kept the minds of men in continual ferment, and their hearts in agitation. If animoſities were keen, friendſhips alſo were warm.

7. This ſubject has been finely illuſtrated by Dr. Robertſon, (Introd. *Hiſt. Charles* V.) and by the preſident Monteſquieu, (*L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxviii—xxxi.) who has written a philoſophical commentary on the *Laws of the Barbarians*. It has alſo been treated, with much learning and ingenuity, by Dr. Stuart in his *View of Society*, and by Mr. Gibbon in his *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxxviii. The author of theſe Letters may, without vanity, aſſume to himſelf the merit of having examined the original evidence, and thought for himſelf, notwithſtanding the compliment he pays to his contemporaries, in condeſcending to quote their writings. In ſo doing, after bearing teſtimony in favour of genius and induſtry, he has chiefly in view the benefit of the ſtudent in hiſtory.

The

LETTER II.

The commonalty were unfortunately degraded to the condition of ſlaves, but the nobility were exalted to the rank of princes. The gentry were their aſſociates: and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality but chief magiſtrate, or head of the community, and could literally do no WRONG; or none, at leaſt, with impunity.

LETTER III.

The Riſe of the FRENCH MONARCHY, *and the Hiſtory of* FRANCE *under the Kings of the Firſt Race.*

LETTER III.

IN hiſtory, as in all other ſciences, it is neceſſary to ſet certain limits to our inquiries, if we would proceed with certainty; and, where utility more than curioſity is our object, we muſt even contract theſe boundaries. We muſt not only confine ourſelves to thoſe periods where truth can be aſcertained, but to thoſe events chiefly which were followed by ſome civil or political conſequence, which produced ſome alteration in the government or the manners of a people: and, even of ſuch events, we ſhould be more particularly attentive to thoſe which continue to operate upon our preſent civil or political ſyſtem.

IN theſe few words, my dear Philip, in order to avoid egotiſm, I have indirectly given you an account of the manner in which I mean to conduct that *Hiſtory of Modern Europe*, which is intended for your inſtruction. The firſt æras of modern, as well as ancient hiſtory, are involved in fable; and the tranſactions of the immediately ſucceeding periods are handed down to us in barren chronicles, which convey no idea of the character of the agents, and conſequently are deſtitute alike of inſtruction and amuſement;

PART I. while the events of latter ages are related with ſo circumſtantial a minuteneſs, that a ſelection becomes abſolutely neceſſary, for ſuch as would not willingly ſpend a life-time in cultivating an acquaintance with thoſe who have lived before them. And as I would rather have you acquainted with the character of one living, than of ten dead ſtateſmen or heroes, I ſhall be as conciſe in my narration as is conſiſtent with perſpicuity, and as ſelect in my matter as information will allow; yet always taking care to omit no anecdote that can throw light on the hiſtory of the human heart, nor any circumſtance which marks the progreſs of civil ſociety.

MODERN HISTORY is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne: and a late celebrated writer has fixed upon the coronation of that prince at Rome, in the year 800, as the proper æra of its commencement. But for the ſake of order, as well as to gratify the curioſity we naturally have to become acquainted with the origin of nations, I ſhall give you a ſhort ſketch of the ſtate of modern Europe previous to that period.

THE French monarchy firſt claims your notice; not on account of its antiquity only, but becauſe of its early and continued conſequence. Gaul was ſhared by the Romans, the Viſigoths, and the Burgundians, when Clovis king of the Franks, a people inhabiting the other ſide of the Rhine, defeated Syagrius, the
A. D. 486. Roman general, and eſtabliſhed a new kingdom, to which he gave the name of France, or the *Land of Free Men*[1]. How ill applied in latter times!

THOUGH Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, which terminated the

1. Gregor. Turon. *Hiſt. Franc.* lib. ii. cap. 27.

Roman

LETTER III.

Roman power in Gaul, his prudence appears to have been equal to his valour. Every thing conſpired to his aggrandizement. The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were ſtrongly attached to Chriſtianity: Clovis gained on their piety, by favouring their biſhops; and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope that he would ſpeedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his countrymen to their ancient worſhip was the ſole objection: the pious exhortations of the queen had ſome effect; and the king having vanquiſhed the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obſtinate engagement, politically aſcribed that victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he ſaid he had invoked during the time of battle, under promiſe of becoming a Chriſtian, if crowned with ſucceſs. He was accordingly baptiſed by St. Remigius, biſhop of Rheims, and almoſt the whole French nation followed his example[2]. A. D. 496.

THIS was a grand circumſtance in favour of Clovis: and he did not fail to take advantage of it. The Gauls were ſtaunch Catholics, but the Viſigoths and Burgundians were Arians. Clotilda, however, happily was a Catholic, though nurſed in the boſom of Arianiſm; and Clovis himſelf overflowed with zeal for the ſame faith, as ſoon as he found it would ſecond his ambitious views. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Viſigoths,

2. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. xv. Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31. Of the miracles ſaid to have been wrought on the converſion of Clovis, the author of this work ſays nothing, as he would not wiſh to propagate pious credulity; but the lovers of the marvellous will find ſufficient food for their paſſion in Hincmar (*Vit. St. Remig.*) It may not, however, be improper to obſerve, that Clovis, when warmed with the eloquence of the biſhop of Rheims, in deſcribing the paſſion and death of Chriſt, ſtarted up, and ſeizing his ſpear, violently exclaimed, "Had I been "there with my valiant Franks, I would have redreſſed his "wrongs!" Fredig. *Epitom.* cap. xxi.

PART I. who poſſeſſed the country between the Rhone and the Loire. The Gallic clergy favoured his pretenſions; and the battle of Vouillé, in which the king of the Viſigoths was vanquiſhed and ſlain, near Poictiers, enlarged the kingdom of the Franks with the province of Aquitaine [3].

A. D. 507.

But Clovis, inſtead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, diſfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties towards the princes of his blood, whom he extirpated. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monaſteries, and aſſembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church-diſcipline [4].

A. D. 511.

The death of Clovis was a ſevere blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four ſons, who divided his extenſive dominions among them. Thierri, the eldeſt, had the largeſt ſhare: he was king of Auſtraſia, or that part of Oriental France which lies between the Rhine and the Meuſe. Metz was his capital. Childebert was king of Paris, Clodomir of Orleans, and Clotaire of Soiſſons [5]. This diviſion of the empire of the Franks, into four independent kingdoms, not only weakened its force, but gave riſe to endleſs broils. The brothers became enemies whenever their intereſts jarred. The moſt frightful barbarities were the conſequence of their diſſenſions. Murders and aſſaſſinations grew common events.

The experience of theſe evils, however, did not prevent a like diviſion taking place after the death of Clotaire, the ſole ſucceſſor of his brothers and ne-

3. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37.
4. Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 40—43.
5. Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3.

phews.

LETTER III.

phews. His four ſons divided the four kingdoms by lot [6]. The kingdom of Paris fell to Caribert; Soiſſons to Chilperic; Auſtraſia to Sigebert; and Orleans to Gontran, in whoſe lot alſo was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the united forces of Childebert and Clotaire. This new diviſion was followed by conſequences ſtill more fatal than the former. Two queens, more deſerving the name of furies than of women, ſacrificed every thing to their bloody ambition; Brunchaut, princeſs of Spain, wife to Sigebert, king of Auſtraſia, and Fredegonde, firſt concubine and afterwards wife to Chilperic, king of Soiſſons. Their mutual hatred, conjoined with their influence over their huſbands, was productive of an infinite number of crimes, equally ruinous to the people and the royal family, and the moſt enormous to be met with in the hiſtory of mankind.

A.D. 562.

After the murder of a multitude of princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with the moſt vindictive ſpirit, and accompanied with every form of treachery and cruelty, Clotaire II. ſon of Chilperic and Fredegonde, was left ſole monarch of France [7]. He re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity, and gained the hearts of his ſubjects; attaching the nobility, by augmenting their conſequence. He committed the government of the province of Auſtraſia and Burgundy to the Mayors of the Palace, as they were called; a kind of viceroys, who daily acquiring power, at laſt made their way to the throne.

A.D. 613.

The vices of Dagobert, the ſon of Clotaire; the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furniſh his debauches, or to atone for them, according to the

6. Greg. Turon. lib. iv. cap. 22. *Geſt. Franc.* cap. xxix.
7. Fredeg. *Chron.* cap. xliii.

cuſtom

PART I. cuſtom of thoſe times, by pious profuſions, weakened the royal authority, at the ſame time that they debaſed it. His two ſons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were only the founders of new convents. They were nobody in their kingdoms: the mayors were every thing.

A. D. 656. On the death of Sigebert, Grimoald, mayor of Auſtraſia, ſet his own ſon upon the throne of that kingdom. The uſurper was depoſed; but the ſeducing example remained, as a lure to future ambition. The ſucceeding ſovereigns were as weak as their predeceſſors; and Pepin Heriſtel, duke of Auſtraſia, governed France twenty-eight years, under the title of mayor, with equal prudence and fortitude. The kings were no more than decorated pageants, to be ſhewn to the people occaſionally. The appellation of *ſluggards*, which was given them, aptly expreſſes their ſtupid inactivity.

A. D. 714. After the death of Pepin, who by reſtoring the national aſſemblies, which the deſpotiſm of former mayors had aboliſhed, by turning the reſtleſs impetuoſity of the French againſt foreign enemies, whom he always overcame, and other wiſe meaſures, had quietly enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy; his authority paſſed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whoſe grandſon, yet an infant, was created mayor. So high was the veneration of the French for the memory of that great man!—But the government of a woman was ill ſuited to thoſe turbulent times, though the inſignificant kings were content to live under the guardianſhip of a child. Charles Martel, natural ſon of Pepin, was ſuſpected of ambitious views by Plectrude, and impriſoned. He found means, however, to make his eſcape, and was received

received by the Auſtraſians as their deliverer. His ſuperior talents ſoon exalted him to the ſame degree of power which his father had enjoyed, and he was no leſs worthy of it. He ſaved France from the ſword of the Saracens, who had already ſubjected Spain, and he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe by his wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration; yet he never ſtyled himſelf any more than Duke of France, conſcious that the title of King could add nothing to his power. But his ſon Pepin, leſs modeſt or more vain, aſſumed the ſovereignty in name as well as reality; excluding for ever the deſcendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race, as they are called, from the crown of France[8].

LETTER III.

A. D. 732.

A. D. 751.

THE circumſtances of that revolution I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. At preſent we muſt take a view of the other ſtates of Europe.

LETTER IV.

SPAIN *under the Dominion of the* VISIGOTHS; *and under the* MOORS, *till the Reign of* ABDURRAHMAN.

SPAIN, my dear Philip, next merits your attention, as the ſecond great kingdom on this ſide of the Alps. Soon after the Viſigoths founded their monarchy in that Roman province, already over-run by the Vandals and the Suevi, the clergy became poſſeſſed of more power than the prince. So early was the tyranny of the church in Spain! Almoſt all cauſes, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, were referred to the bench of biſhops: they even decided in their councils the moſt weighty affairs of the nation. Along with the nobles, among whom they held the firſt rank,

LETTER IV

A. D. 467.

8. Adon. *Chron. Annal. Metenſ.*

PART I. they often diſpoſed of the crown, which was more elective than hereditary. The kingdom was one theatre of revolutions and crimes. The number of kings aſſaſſinated fills the ſoul with horror. The Barbarians, after their eſtabliſhment, contracted new vices: their ferocity became more bloody. What crimes did not bigotry alone produce!

In order to make you fully ſenſible of this, as well as acquainted with all that is neceſſary to be known in the hiſtory of the Viſigoths in Spain, I need only mention the principal reigns.

A.D. 585. Leovigild, who died in 585, and who is ſo much celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whom he entirely ſubdued, put to death his ſon Hermenegild, becauſe he had embraced the Catholic faith, he himſelf being an Arian. Recared, however, his other ſon and ſucceſſor, abjured Arianiſm. The Arians were perſecuted in their turn. The ſpirit of perſecution daily increaſed. Siſebut, a prince in other reſpects wiſe, and whoſe valour had diſpoſſeſſed the Greek emperors of what territory they held on the A.D. 612. coaſts of the Mediterranean, obliged the Jews, on pain of death, to receive baptiſm. Under this prince the empire of the Viſigoths was at its height; comprehending not only Spain, but alſo ſome neighbouring provinces of Gaul, and part of Mauritania. Suintilla baniſhed all the Jews; and a council, or aſſembly of divines, declared, that no prince could aſcend the throne without ſwearing to enforce all the laws made againſt this unfortunate people. Under Recheſwind, the election of kings was reſerved by a council to the biſhops and palatines. Theſe palatines were the principal officers of the crown. Thus the

t. Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See alſo Saavedra, *Corona Gothica*.

body of the nobles of their moſt eſſential rights. LETTER IV.

WAMBA, who defeated the Saracens in an attempt upon Spain, was excluded the throne, becauſe he had been clothed in the habit of a *penitent*, while labouring under the influence of poiſon, adminiſtered by the ambitious Erviga!—This ſtroke of prieſtcraft, the firſt of the kind that we meet with in hiſtory, ſhews, at a diſtance, what might be expected from clerical fineſſe. A council adjudged the throne to Erviga; and another council, held during his reign, prohibited the kings, under penalty of damnation, from marrying a king's widow. This canon is a ſufficient proof of the ſpirit of legiſlation which at that time prevailed in Spain. The debauchery, cruelty, and impiety of Witiza, whoſe wickedneſs knew no bounds, occaſioned a civil war in 710. Roderic, or Roderigue, dethroned this prince, and was himſelf dethroned by a people whom nothing could withſtand[a]. A.D. 682. A.D. 710.

THE Mahometan religion was already eſtabliſhed in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who had erected at Mecca a ſpiritual and temporal monarchy, died in 632; and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, ſoon after over-ran great part of Aſia, and all the cultivated part of Africa. Animated by the moſt violent ſpirit of fanaticiſm, their valour was altogether irreſiſtible. The Koran promiſed heaven and eternal ſenſuality to ſuch as fell in battle, and the conquerors always tendered liberty and protection to thoſe who embraced their ſuperſtition. They threatened the whole world with ſubjection. Count Julian, whoſe

a. Iſidor. *Chron. Goth.* Ferreras, *Hiſt. Hiſp.* vol. ii. Mariana, ibid. Greg. Turon. lib. vi.

daughter

PART I. daughter king Roderic had diſhonoured, invited them, it is ſaid, to land in Spain. Nor is this circumſtance at all improbable, conſidering the character of the times, more revolutions being then occaſioned by the private vices of princes than any other cauſe.

THE Saracens, already maſters of Mauritania, now Barbary (a name which the lawleſs ferocity of their deſcendants has given to that country, as it gave to them the name of Maures or Moors), made a deſcent
A. D. 712. upon Spain; and by the deciſive battle of Xeres, in Andaluſia, put an end to the empire of the Viſigoths [3]. Muza, viceroy of Africa, under the calif Walid, came over to finiſh the conqueſt. According to the prudent policy of the Mahometans, the only enthuſiaſts who ever united the ſpirit of toleration with a zeal for making proſelytes, he offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, on condition that they ſhould pay to him the ſame ſubſidy they had paid their former ſovereigns: and ſuch as embraced the religion of the conquerors were entitled to all their privileges. Moſt cities ſubmitted without reſiſtance: thoſe that held out he reduced by force, burning and pillaging them. Oppas, archbiſhop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, was not aſhamed on this occaſion to join the Saracens, and ſacrifice his country and his religion to his hatred againſt Roderic. But Pelagius, a prince of the royal blood, remained firm in his faith and his duty; and, when he could no longer keep the field againſt the Infidels, he retired to the mountains of Aſturias, followed by a multitude of Chriſti-
A. D. 717. ans. There he founded a ſmall kingdom, which he defended by his valour, and tranſmitted to his poſterity [4].

3. Rod. Tolet. *Hiſt. Arab.* Ferreras, ubi ſup.
4. Mariana, vol. i. Ferreras, vol. ii.

MEAN-

LETTER III.

MEANWHILE the Saracens or Moors, little willing to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an unſucceſsful attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. But that check was ſoon forgot. Abdurrahman, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a ſecond irruption with ſuperior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens. Repelled there by biſhop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquiſhed the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Charles Martel put a ſtop to his career, between Poictiers and Tours, by a memorable battle, in A.D. 732. which Abdurrahman himſelf was ſlain: and, if we believe the hiſtorians of thoſe times, the Saracens loſt in this action upwards of three hundred thouſand men. But ſuch exaggerations are fit only for romance.

SPAIN was at firſt very miſerable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependent on the viceroy of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a ſhort time in their government, were more buſy in fleecing the Spaniſh nation, than in the adminiſtration of juſtice or the preſervation of good order. Civil wars aroſe among the Moſlems themſelves; and the califs or vicars of the prophet, the ſucceſſors of Mahomet, who had made Damaſcus the ſeat of their court, were unable to quell thoſe diſorders. The competitions for the califat, as may be expected, even favoured the projects of the rebels. At length that auguſt dignity, which included both the higheſt regal and ſacerdotal eminence, paſſed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abaſſides. This revolu- A.D. 750. tion, which was bloody, gave birth to another, truly advantageous to Spain, but injurious to the Chriſtian faith.

ABDU-

PART I. A.D. 756.

ABDURRAHMAN, called also Almanzor, a prince of the blood royal, who escaped in the massacre of the Ommiades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all those provinces which had been subject to the califs [5]. He fixed his residence at Cordova, which he made the seat of the arts, of magnificence, and of pleasure. Without persecuting the Christians, he was able, by his artful policy, almost to extinguish Christianity in his dominions:—by depriving the bishops of their dioceses; by reserving all honours and offices for the followers of his prophet; and by promoting intermarriages between the Christians and Mahometans. No prince in Europe equalled Abdurrahman in wisdom, nor any people the Arabs in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the human soul. Lately enemies to the sciences, they now cultivated them with success, and enjoyed a considerable share both of learning and politeness, while the rest of mankind were sunk in ignorance and barbarism [6].

I SHALL afterwards have occasion to be more particular on this subject. In the mean time, we must cast an eye on Italy, Rome, Constantinople, and France, from the time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne.

5. Ferreras, ubi sup. 6. Ockley, *Hist. Sarac.* vol. i. ii.

LETTER V.

ITALY *under the Dominion of the* OSTROGOTHS, *and under the* LOMBARDS, *till the Reign of* LUITPRAND.

LETTER V.

ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes after it loſt its ancient maſters, before it fell into the hands of Charlemagne. It was firſt wholly conquered by the Heruli, a people from the extremity of the Euxine or Black Sea, who held it only a ſhort time, being expelled by the Oſtrogoths. Theodoric, the firſt Gothic king of Italy, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They allowed the Italians, or Romans as they ſtill affected to be called, to retain their poſſeſſions, their laws, their religion, their own government and their own magiſtrates, reſerving only to the Goths the principal military employments. They acknowledged the emperors of Conſtantinople their ſuperiors in rank, but not in juriſdiction. Ravenna was the ſeat of their court, and in real magnificence vied with ancient Rome, as their equitable adminiſtration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus [1]. They were at laſt ſubdued by Beliſarius and Narſes, the generals of Juſtinian, who having recovered Africa from the Vandals, had the pleaſure of uniting Italy once more to the Roman Eaſtern or Greek empire;

A. D. 476.

A. D. 493.

A. D. 554.

1. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* Caſſiodor. lib. viii. The lenity of the Oſtrogoths on their firſt ſettlement in Italy, may be accounted for from two cauſes:—partly from that poliſh which their manners may be ſuppoſed to have received during their intercourſe with the Romans, whom they had long ſerved as auxiliaries againſt the Huns and other barbarous nations; partly from the character of Theodoric the Gothic conqueror, who having been educated at Conſtantinople, and initiated in all the learning of the times, had afterwards diſcharged the office of conſul in that city, and appears to have retained a juſt admiration of the Roman laws and arts.

PART I. the Weſtern empire, which took its riſe, as a ſeparate ſtate, on the death of Theodoſius in 395, being totally annihilated by Odoacer, king of the Heruli.

Soon after the expulſion of the Oſtrogoths, great
586. part of Italy was ſeized by Alboinus, king of the Lombards or Langobards, a Gothic nation. He and his ſucceſſors made Pavia the place of their reſidence. The government of Italy was now entirely changed. Alboinus eſtabliſhed the feudal policy in thoſe countries which he had conquered, ſettling the principal officers of his army, under the name of dukes in the chief cities of every province [2]. A ſimilar kind of government prevailed in that part of Italy which remained ſubject to the emperors of Conſtantinople; the exarch or ſupreme governor, who reſided at Ravenna, appointing the dukes, or chief magiſtrates, of the other cities, and removing them at pleaſure. Even Rome itſelf was governed by a duke, the very name of the ſenate and conſuls being aboliſhed.

Alboinus was one of the greateſt princes of his time, and no leſs ſkilled in the ſcience of reigning than in the art of war; but he was ſlain by the treach-
A D. 571. ery of his wife Roſamund, before he had leiſure to perfect the government of his kingdom. Clephis, his ſucceſſor, was an able, but a barbarous prince. His cruelties gave the Lombards ſuch an averſion againſt regal power, that they reſolved, after his death, to change their form of government: accordingly, for the ſpace of twelve years, they choſe no other king, but lived ſubject to their dukes. Theſe dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority; but, when the kingly power was aboliſhed, each duke became ſovereign of his own city and its diſtrict.

2. Paul. Diac. *de Geſt. Langob.* lib. ii.

LETTER V.

THE Lombards, during that interregnum, extended their conquests in Italy. But, being threatened by foreign enemies, they saw the necessity of a closer union; of restoring their ancient form of government, and committing the management of the war to a single person.

FOR this purpose the heads of the nation assembled, and with one voice called Autharis, the son of Clephis, to the throne. Autharis perfected that form of government which had been established by Alboinus. Sensible that the dukes, who had ruled their several districts like independent princes, for so many years, would not willingly part with their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments, but reserved to himself the supreme jurisdiction. He made them contribute a part of their revenues towards the support of his royal dignity, and take an oath, that they would assist him to the utmost of their power in time of war [3]. After settling the government of his kingdom, he enacted several salutary laws for its tranquillity and good order. He was the first of the Lombard kings who embraced Christianity, and many of his subjects followed his example: but being of the Arian persuasion, like most of the northern conquerors, whose simple minds could not comprehend the mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, many disputes were by that means occasioned between the Arian and Catholic bishops; for the Romans, or native Italians, were then as staunch Catholics as at this day. A. D. 586.

LIBERTY of conscience, however, was allowed under all the Lombard kings; and Rotharis, who surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom and valour, was so moderate in his principles, and so indulgent to his

3. Ibid. l.b. iii.

PART I. people, that during his reign moſt cities of Italy had two biſhops, one Catholic, and the other Arian. He was the firſt prince who gave written laws to the
A.D. 643. Lombards. For that purpoſe, he ſummoned at Pavia, a general diet of the nobles; and ſuch regulations as they approved, he ordered to be digeſted into a code, and obſerved over all his dominions. His military talents were not inferior to his civil. He very much extended the limits of his kingdom, and gained ſo many advantages over the imperial forces, that no future hoſtilities paſſed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand.

A.D. 663. But the emperor Conſtans, before that time, landed in Italy with a conſiderable army, which he commanded in perſon, determined to expel the barbarians, and reunite the kingdom of Lombardy to his dominions. He at firſt gained ſome inconſiderable advantages; but his army was afterwards totally routed by Romuald, duke of Benevento, whoſe father, Grimoald, had been elected king of the Lombards. Grimoald was a prudent prince, and in all reſpects worthy of the dignity to which he had been raiſed. As ſoon as he was free from the alarms of war, he applied himſelf wholly to the arts of peace. He re-
A.D. 668. formed the laws of Rotharis, which were now from choice appealed to by the Italians as well as the Lombards; revoking ſome, and enacting others more applicable to the circumſtances of the times. Influenced by the arguments of John, biſhop of Bergamo, he renounced the tenets of Arius. His ſucceſſors followed his example, all profeſſing the catholic faith; ſo that Arianiſm was in a ſhort time forſaken by the whole nation of the Lombards [4].

4 Paul. Diac. lib v.

LETTER V.

A.D. 712.

LUITPRAND gave great proofs of his wiſdom and valour from the moment he aſcended the throne, tho' his courage ſometimes bordered on raſhneſs. Informed that two of his attendants had conſpired againſt his life, and only waited an opportunity to put their deſign in execution, he walked out with them alone, and upbraided them with their guilt. Struck with ſuch heroic firmneſs, they threw themſelves at his feet, as wretches unworthy of mercy. The king, however, thought otherwiſe: he not only pardoned them, but received them into favour, promoting them afterwards to principal employments. Having thus won his domeſtic enemies by kindneſs, and ſtrengthened his intereſts abroad by marrying the daughter of the duke of the Boioarii, Luitprand applied himſelf, in imitation of his two illuſtrious predeceſſors, Rotharis and Grimoald, to the formation of new laws. In one of theſe his wiſdom appears highly conſpicuous. He blames "the ridiculous cuſtom of trials by duel, in "which we would force God to manifeſt his juſtice "according to the caprice of men;" adding, that he has only tolerated the abuſe, "becauſe the Lombards "are ſo much attached to it[5]."

BUT Luitprand's great qualities were in ſome meaſure ſhaded by his boundleſs ambition. Not ſatisfied with the extenſive dominions left him by his predeceſſors, he formed the deſign of making himſelf ſole maſter of Italy: and a favourable opportunity ſoon offered for that enterpriſe.

LEO ISAURICUS, then emperor of Conſtantinople, where theological diſputes had long mingled with affairs of ſtate, and where caſuiſts were more com-

5. *Leg. Langob.* in Codex Lindenbrog.

PART I. A.D. 726.

mon on the throne than politicians, piouſly prohibited the worſhip of images; ordering all the ſtatues to be broken in pieces, and the paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt. The populace, whoſe devotion extended no farther than ſuch objects, and the monks and ſecular prieſts, intereſted in ſupporting the mummery, were ſo highly provoked at this innovation, that they publicly revolted in many places. The emperor, however, took care to have his edict put in force in the Eaſt; and he ſtrictly enjoined the exarch of Ravenna, and his other officers in the Weſt, to ſee it as punctually obeyed in their governments. In obedience to that command, the exarch began to pull down the images in the churches and public places at Ravenna; a conduct which inceniſed the ſuperſtitious multitude to ſuch a degree, that they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor, than the worſhip of images. They conſidered him as an abominable heretic, whom it was lawful to reſiſt by force, and took arms for that purpoſe [6].

A. D. 727.

Luitprand, judging this the proper ſeaſon to put his ambitious project in execution, ſuddenly aſſembled his forces, and unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna; not doubting but the reduction of that important place would be ſpeedily followed by the conqueſt of all the imperial dominions in Italy. The exarch, though little prepared for ſuch an aſſault, defended the city with much courage; but finding he could not long hold out againſt ſo great a force, and deſpairing of relief, he privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of this, made a vigorous attack; carried the city by ſtorm, and gave it up to be plun-

6 Mcimb. *Hiſt. Iconoclaſt.*

dered

dered by his ſoldiers; who found in it an immenſe booty, as it had been ſucceſſively the ſeat of the Weſtern emperors, of the Gothic kings, and of the exarchs. Alarmed at the fate of Ravenna, moſt other cities in the exarchate ſurrendered without reſiſtance [7]. Luitprand ſeemed, therefore, in a fair way to become maſter of all Italy. But that conqueſt neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors was ever able to complete: and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards.

LETTER V.

A. D. 728.

LETTER VI.

The Riſe of the Pope's temporal Power, with ſome Account of the Affairs of ITALY, *the Empire of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and the Kingdom of* FRANCE, *from the Time of* CHARLES MARTEL *to that of* CHARLEMAGNE.

THOUGH Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the pope, or biſhop, had the chief authority in that city. He was yet leſs conſpicuous by his power than the reſpect which religion inſpired for his ſee, and the confidence which was placed in his character. St. Gregory, who died 604, had negociated with princes upon ſeveral matters of ſtate, and his ſucceſſors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To free themſelves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, was the great object of theſe ambitious prelates. In order to accompliſh this important purpoſe, they em-

LETTER VI.

7. Paul Diac. lib. vi.

PART I. ployed ſucceſsfully both religion and intrigue; and at laſt eſtabliſhed a ſpiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human inſtitutions, perhaps, moſt merits the attention of man, whether we conſider its nature, its progreſs, or its prodigious conſequences.

GREGORY II. had offended the emperor Leo, by oppoſing his edict againſt the worſhip of images: but he was more afraid of the growing power of the Lombards than of the emperor's threats; he therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to the conqueſts of Luitprand. The only prince in Italy, to whom he could have recourſe, was Urſus, duke of Venice, the Venetians making already no contemptible figure. Not leſs alarmed than Gregory at the progreſs of ſo powerful a neighbour, Urſus and the Venetians promiſed to aſſiſt the exarch (who had fled to them for protection) with the whole ſtrength of the republic. They accordingly fitted out a conſiderable
A. D. 728. fleet, while the exarch conducted an army by land, and retook Ravenna, before Luitprand could march to its relief.

As the recovery of Ravenna had been chiefly owing to the interpoſition of Gregory, he hoped to be able to prevail on the emperor to revoke his edict againſt the worſhip of images in the Weſt. Leo, however, ſenſible that the pope had been influenced merely by his own intereſt in the meaſures he had taken relative to that event, was only more provoked at his obſtinacy, and reſolved that the edict ſhould be obeyed even in Rome itſelf. For this purpoſe he recalled Scholaſticus, exarch of Ravenna, and ſent in his ſtead Paul, a patrician, ordering him to get the pope aſſaſſinated, or to ſeize him, and ſend him in chains to Conſtantinople. But Gregory, far from being

being intimidated by the emperor's threats, ſolemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict in execution, exhorting all the Italian cities to continue ſtedfaſt in the catholic faith. Luitprand, though highly incenſed againſt Gregory, aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs; and the populace roſe at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, making prodigious ſlaughter of the Iconoclaſts, or image-breakers, as the abettors of the edict were called. The duke of Naples ſhared the ſame fate with the exarch; and as Leo ſtill inſiſted that his favourite edict ſhould be enforced in Rome, the people of that city, at the inſtigation of Gregory, againſt whom every ſpecies of murder had been attempted, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor[1]. Hence the riſe of the pope's temporal power.

LETTER VI.

A. D. 729.

A. D. 730.

INFORMED of this revolt, and not doubting who was the author of it, Leo ordered a powerful army to be raiſed, with a deſign both to chaſtiſe the rebels and take vengeance on the pope. Gregory, alarmed at theſe warlike preparations, looked round for ſome power on which he might depend for protection. The Lombards were poſſeſſed of ſufficient force, but they were too near neighbours to be truſted; and the Venetians, though zealous catholics, were not yet in a condition to withſtand the ſtrength of the empire. Spain was at that time over-run by the Saracens: the French ſeemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was adviſable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppoſe the emperor and enemies to his edict. France was then governed by Charles Martel, the greateſt commander of his age. Gregory ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Charles, entreating him to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and

1. Anaſt. in *Vit. Greg.* II. Meimb. *Hiſt. Iconoclaſt.*

defend

PART I. A.D. 731. defend them againſt the attempts of Leo. The ambaſſadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour: a treaty was concluded [2]; and the French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church.

In the mean time conſiderable alterations were made by death. Gregory II. did not live to ſee his negociation with France finiſhed. He was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Gregory III. and, ſome years after, Leo Iſauricus was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his ſon Conſtantine Copronymus, who not only renewed his father's edict againſt the worſhip of images, but prohibited the invocation of ſaints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the reſolution they had taken of ſeparating themſelves entirely from the empire; more eſpecially as being now under the protection of France, they had nothing to fear from Conſtantinople. They accordingly drove out of their city ſuch of the imperial officers as had hitherto been ſuffered to continue there; and aboliſhed, by that means the very ſhadow of ſubjection to the emperor. Soon after Leo, died Charles Martel, and alſo Gre-
A. D. 741. gory III. who was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Zachary, an active and enterpriſing prelate. Immediately after his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the reſtoration of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince as a ranſom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands [3].

LUITPRAND henceforth laid aſide all ambitious
A. D. 743. thoughts, dying in peace with the church and with men. Rachis, his ſucceſſor, confirmed the peace with Zachary; but being afterwards ſeized with a

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* 3. Paul. Diac. lib. vi.

thirſt

thirſt of conqueſt, he invaded the Roman dukedom, and laid ſiege to Perugia. Zachary, before he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of France, the only power on which he could depend, reſolved to try once more his perſonal influence. He accordingly went in perſon to the camp of Rachis: and being reſpectfully received by that prince, he repreſented ſo forcibly to him the puniſhment reſerved for thoſe who unjuſtly invade the property of others, that Rachis not only raiſed the ſiege, but was ſo much ſubdued by the eloquence of the pontiff, that he renounced his crown, and retired to the monaſtery of Monte Caſſino; proſtrating himſelf firſt at Zachary's feet, and taking the habit of St. Benedict [4]. LETTER VI. A. D. 750.

WHILE things were in this ſituation in Italy, Pepin, ſon of Charles Martel, governed France in the character of mayor, under Childeric II. and acquainted, no doubt, with the ſentiments of his Holineſs, propoſed to Zachary a caſe of conſcience, which had not hitherto been ſubmitted to the biſhop of Rome. He deſired to know, Whether a prince incapable of governing, or a miniſter inveſted with royal authority, and who ſupported it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. Zachary decided in favour of the miniſter; and the French clergy ſupported the pretenſions of Pepin, becauſe he had reſtored the lands of which Charles Martel had robbed them. The nobles reſpected him, becauſe he was powerful and brave; and the people deſpiſed the ſluggard kings, whom they ſcarcely knew by name. The judgment of the pope therefore ſilenced every ſcruple. Childeric was depoſed; or, more properly, degraded, for he could never be ſaid to reign. He was ſhut up in a monaſtery. Pepin was raiſed to the throne; and St. Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, the famous A. D. 752.

4. Id. ibid.

apoſtle

PART I. A. D. 752. apoſtle of the Germans, anointed him ſolemnly at Soiſſons [5].

THIS ceremony of anointing, borrowed from the Jews, and hitherto unknown to the French nation, or at moſt only uſed on the converſion of Clovis, ſeemed to beſtow on the king a kind of divine character: and ſo far it was uſeful, by inſpiring reſpect. But as ignorance abuſes all things, the biſhops ſoon imagined they could confer royalty by anointing princes; an opinion which was followed by many fatal conſequences. The Eaſtern emperors had long been crowned by the patriarchs of Conſtantinople: the popes, in like manner, crowned the emperors of the Weſt. Crowning and anointing were ſuppoſed neceſſary to ſovereignty. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of diſpoſing of kingdoms.

THESE obſervations, my dear Philip, you will find frequent occaſion to apply. I offer them here, in order to awaken your attention. We muſt ſee things in their cauſes, to reaſon diſtinctly on their effects.

SUCCESS ſoon attended the crafty policy of the popes: the new king of France repaid their favour with intereſt. Aſtulphus, the ſucceſſor of Rachis, leſs piouſly inclined than his brother, thought only of conqueſt. In imitation of Luitprand, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all Italy; and as the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus was now engaged in a war with the Saracens and Bulgarians, and in a ſtill more hot and dangerous war againſt images, Aſtulphus judged this a proper ſeaſon to invade the imperial dominions. He accordingly entered the exarchate at the head of a conſiderable army; took Ravenna, ſubdued the whole province, and alſo Penta-

A. D. 753.

5 Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

polis,

polis, which he added to the kingdom of the Lombards, reducing the exarchate and its ancient metropolis to the condition of a dukedom [6]. LETTER VI. A. D. 753.

AMBITION is only increaſed by acceſſion of dominion. Aſtulphus no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of Ravenna and its territory, than he began to lay claim to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itſelf. He urged the right of conqueſt. This, he alledged, entitled him to the ſame power over that city and its dukedom which the emperors, and alſo the exarchs, their viceroys, had formerly enjoyed, as he was now in poſſeſſion of the whole exarchate. And, in order to enforce his demand, he marched an army towards Rome, reducing many cities in its neighbourhood, and threatening to put the inhabitants to the ſword, if they refuſed to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Stephen III. then pope, no leſs alarmed at the approach of ſo powerful a monarch, than at the ſeverity of his meſſage, endeavoured to appeaſe him by a ſolemn embaſſy. But preſents, prayers, and entreaties, were employed in vain: Aſtulphus wanted to govern Rome.

MADE ſenſible at laſt, that force muſt be repelled by force, Stephen reſolved, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to crave the protection of France. He accordingly applied to Pepin, who, mindful of his obligations to Zachary, and now firmly ſeated on the throne of Clovis, readily promiſed the pope his aſſiſtance, and ſent two ambaſſadors to conduct him to Paris. Aſtulphus permitted him to paſs: and a treaty was concluded between both, at the expence of the emperors of Conſtantinople and the kings of Italy. Stephen anointed Pepin anew, with the holy unction, and alſo his two ſons, Charles and Carloman, declaring each of them

6. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

Romanorum

PART I. *Romanorum Patricius*, or Protector of the Roman
A. D. 758. people; and the French monarch, in return for theſe honours promiſed to make a donation of the exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romiſh church [7].

PEPIN however endeavoured, before he ſet out for Italy, to perſuade Aſtulphus to be content with the dominions of his predeceſſors; to reſtore what he had conquered, and thus prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian
A. D. 754. blood. But finding the king of the Lombards deaf to his entreaties, he croſſed the Alps, and advanced to Pavia. Aſtulphus, now convinced of his danger, ſued for peace, and obtained it, on condition that he ſhould deliver up to the pope, not to the emperor, all the places he had taken. He conſented; but, inſtead of fulfilling his engagements, no ſooner did he think the ſtorm blown over by the departure of Pepin, than he broke again into the Roman dukedom, took ſeveral cities, and laid ſiege to Rome.

IN this extremity, Stephen had again recourſe to his protector, the king of France, writing to him thoſe famous letters which are ſtill extant, and in which he artfully introduces St. Peter, to whom the donation of the exarchate had been made, conjuring Pepin, his two ſons, and the ſtates of France to come
A. D. 755. to his relief; promiſing them all good things, both in this world and the next, in caſe of compliance, and denouncing damnation as the reward of refuſal [8]. Pepin, much affected by this eloquence, wild as it may ſeem, croſſed the Alps a ſecond time, and Aſtulphus again took refuge in Pavia.

MEANWHILE the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus, informed of the treaty between the king of France

7. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. i. 8. Anaſtaſ. in *Vit. Steph.* III.

and

and the pope, by which the latter was to be put in poſſeſſion of the exarchate and Pentapolis, remonſtrated by his ambaſſadors againſt that agreement, offering to pay the expences of the war. But Pepin replied, That the exarchate belonged to the Lombards, who had acquired it by the right of arms, as the Romans had originally done; that the right of the Lombards was now in him, ſo that he could diſpoſe of that territory as he thought proper. He had beſtowed it, he ſaid, on St. Peter, that the catholic faith might be preſerved in its purity, free from the damnable hereſies of the Greeks; and all the money in the world, he added, ſhould never make him revoke that gift, which he was determined to maintain to the church with the laſt drop of his blood. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed, without being ſuffered to reply. Pepin preſſed the ſiege of Pavia; and Aſtulphus, finding himſelf unable to hold out, agreed to fulfil the former treaty, giving hoſtages as a pledge of his fidelity, and putting the pope immediately in poſſeſſion of Commachio, a place of great importance at that time 9. LETTER VI. A. D. 755.

BEFORE Pepin returned to France, he renewed his donation to St. Peter, yielding to Stephen and his ſucceſſors the exarchate; Æmilia, now Romagna; and Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona; with all the cities therein, to be held by them for ever, the kings of France, as patricians, retaining only an ideal ſuperiority, which was ſoon forgot 10. Thus was the ſceptre added to the keys, the ſovereignty to the A. D. 756.

9. Leo Oſtienſis, ubi ſup.

10. Many diſputes have ariſen concerning the nature of Pepin's donation, and ſome writers have even denied that ſuch a donation was ever made; but on comparing authorities, and obſerving the ſcope of hiſtory, the matter ſeems to have been nearly as repreſented in the text. The impertinences of Voltaire on this ſubject, under the form of reaſoning, are too contemptible to deſerve notice.

prieſt-

PART I. priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors.

ASTULPHUS, soon after ratifying his treaty with France, was killed by accident, when he was preparing to recover his conquests. Pepin continued to extend his sway and his renown till the year 768; when, after having imposed tribute on the Saxons and Sclavonians, having made the duke of Bavaria take an oath of fidelity, and reunited Acquitaine to his crown, equally respected at home and abroad, he
A. D. 768. died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He never affected absolute power, but referred all matters of importance to the national assemblies, of which he was the oracle. By the consent of the nobles, he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

THE reign of Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne or Charles the Great, introduces a new æra, and will furnish the subject of a future Letter. In the mean time, we must trace the settlement of other Barbarians, and the rise of another great kingdom.

LET-

LETTER VII.

BRITAIN, *from the Time it was relinquiſhed by the* ROMANS; *to the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE affairs of our own iſland, my dear Philip, now claim your attention. It was ultimately evacuated by the Romans about the year 448, after they had been maſters of the ſouthern, and moſt fertile part of it, for almoſt four centuries. LETTER VII.

NEVER, perhaps, was the debaſing influence of deſpotiſm ſo fully diſplayed as in its effect on our ancient countrymen. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than the Britons. With ordinary weapons, and little knowlege of military diſcipline, they ſtruggled long with the Roman power, and were only ſubdued at laſt by reaſon of their want of union. But after three centuries of tranquil ſubmiſſion, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recall their legions from this iſland, and reſign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conſcious of their inability to protect themſelves againſt their northern neighbours, and wanting reſolution to attempt it, they would gladly have lived in ſecurity and ſlavery. They had therefore recourſe, again and again, to their conquerors: and the Romans, beſides occaſionally ſending over a legion to the aid of the Britons, aſſiſted them in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde [1]. This wall was eſteemed A. D. 409.

1. Gildas, Bede, lib. i. Mr. Gibbon, whoſe hiſtorical ſcepticiſm is as well known as his theological incredulity, has attempted to controvert the degeneracy of the Britons under the Roman government. But facts will ſpeak for themſelves: theſe he has not been able to deſtroy. The Britons, who fled before their naked and barbarous neighbours, were ſurely inferior to thoſe that intrepidly contended with the Roman legions, under Julius Cæſar and other great commanders.

PART I. by the Romans a neceſſary barrier firſt againſt the Caledonians, and afterwards againſt the Scots and Picts.

MUCH time has been ſpent in enquiring whence the Scots and Picts emigrated, and many diſputes have ariſen on the ſubject. The moſt probable opinion, however, ſeems to be, That they were two tribes of the native Britons, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chuſing liberty and barren mountains, rather than fertile plains and ſlavery: yet ſome plauſible conjectures have been offered to prove, that the Scots were a colony from Ireland, though of the ſame Celtic origin [2]. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been a brave and warlike people, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-match for the now daſtardly and diſpirited Britons.

THESE two nations no ſooner heard of the final departure of the Romans, than they conſidered the whole iſland as their own. One party croſſed the frith of Forth, in boats made of leather, while another attacked with fury the Roman wall, which the Britons had repaired for their defence, but which they abandoned on the firſt aſſault, flying like timorous deer, and leaving their country an entire prey to
A. D. 448. the enemy. The Scots and Picts made dreadful havock of the fugitives; and, meeting with no oppoſition, they laid all the ſouthern part of the iſland waſte with fire and ſword. Famine followed with all its horrid train. The miſerable Britons, in this frightful extremity, had once more recourſe to Rome.
A. D. 449. They writ to Ætius, then conſul the third time, who governed the empire of the Weſt with abſolute ſway, that memorable letter entitled *The Groans of the*

2. See, on this intricate ſubject, Macpherſon's Introd. *Hiſt. Brit.* Whitaker's *Hiſt. of Manchester*, *Genuine Hiſt. Brit.* and Hume's *Hiſt. of England*, vol. i. note A, where much learning and ingenuity are diſplayed about a matter of no moment.

Britons, and which paints their unhappy condition as ſtrongly as it is poſſible for words: "We know not," ſay they, "even which way to flee. Chaſed by the "barbarians to the ſea, and forced back by the ſea "upon the barbarians, we have only left us the "choice of two deaths; either to periſh by the ſword, "or be ſwallowed up by the waves[3]." What anſwer they received is uncertain; but it is well known they received no aſſiſtance, Rome being then threatened by Attila, the moſt terrible enemy that ever invaded the empire. A. D. 449.

THE Britons, however, amid all their calamities, had one conſolation: they had embraced Chriſtianity; a religion which above all others teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which encourages its votaries to triumph in adverſity, and inſpires the ſoul with joy in the hour of affliction. Numbers of them fled over to Gaul, and ſettled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Britany: part of them ſubmitted to the Scots and Picts; and part, collecting courage from deſpair, ſallied from their woods and caves upon the ſecure and roving invaders, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire into their own country. But the enemy threatening to return next ſeaſon with ſuperior forces, the diſtreſſed Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, prince of Dunmonium, who then poſſeſſed the principal authority among them, invited over, as a laſt reſource, the Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons[4].

THE Saxons, like all the ancient German tribes, were a free, brave, and independent people, arrived at that degree of civilization in which the mind has

3. Bede, Gildas, ubi ſup. Gul. Malmſ. lib. i.
4. Bede, lib. i. Gul. Malmſ. ubi ſup.

 acquired

PART I. acquired ſufficient force for enterprize, while it ſeems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. A nation, taken collectively, is never perhaps capable of ſuch great achievements as in this ſtate of half-civilization. The Saxons had ſpread themſelves from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now Jutland, taking poſſeſſion of the whole country between the Rhine and the Elbe; and, when the Britons ſent to implore their aſſiſtance, they were maſters not only of the preſent Weſtphalia, Saxony, Eaſt and Weſt Friſeland, but alſo of Holland and Zealand. They readily complied with the requeſt of Vortigern; and having fitted out three large ſhips, about fifteen hundred of them put to ſea under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa, two of their princes, ſaid to be deſcended from the fabulous god Woden. They landed
A. D. 450. in the iſle of Thanet, which was aſſigned as their habitation, and a league was entered into between them and the Britiſh princes. Soon after their arrival, they marched againſt the Scots and Picts, who had made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stamford. Theſe northern ravagers, unable to withſtand the ſteady valour of the Saxons, were routed with great ſlaughter; and the Britons, felicitating themſelves on an expedient by which they had freed their country from ſo cruel an enemy, hoped henceforth to enjoy ſecurity under the protection of their warlike auxiliaries.

5. Gildas, Bede, ubi ſup. *Chron. Sax.* p. 13. Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Nennius, gives a different account of this matter (*Hiſt.* chap. xxxviii.) He repreſents Hengiſt and Horſa as two fugitive adventurers; who, in a piratical cruiſe, were taken into the pay of the Britiſh prince. But I *can ſee no reaſon* for adopting ſuch a novelty; for, independent of circumſtances, which are greatly in favour of the old manner of telling the ſtory, the authority of the venerable Bede is ſurely ſuperior to that of the fabulous Nennius. Had Hengiſt and Horſa been a couple of exiles, they would not ſoon have found ſo many followers. Every thing conſpires to prove, that the Saxon invaſion of Britain was a national object.

BUT

BUT mankind, in the poſſeſſion of preſent good, are apt to overlook future evil. The Britons did not foreſee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors; though it muſt have been evident to any diſintereſted obſerver, that the day of ſubjection was nigh. The reflections of Hengiſt and Horſa after their victory over the Scots and Picts, were very different from thoſe of the Britons. They conſidered with what eaſe they might ſubdue a people, who had been unable to reſiſt ſuch feeble invaders; and ſent intelligence to their countrymen of the fertility and opulence of Britain, inviting them to come and ſhare in the ſpoils of a nation, without union and without valour, ſunk in indolence and ſloth [6].

THE invitation was readily accepted. Seventeen ſhips ſoon arrived with five thouſand men; who, joined to thoſe already in the iſland, formed a conſiderable army. Though now juſtly alarmed at the number of their allies, the Britons ſought ſecurity and relief only in paſſive ſubmiſſion: and even that unmanly expedient ſoon failed them. The Saxons pulled off the maſk, complaining that their ſubſidies were ill paid, and demanding larger ſupplies of corn and other proviſions. Theſe being refuſed, as exorbitant, they formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceeded to open hoſtilities againſt the people they had come over to protect [7].

THE Britons were at laſt under the neceſſity of taking arms; and having depoſed Vortigern, who was become odious by his vices, and the unfortunate iſſue of his raſh councils, they put themſelves under the command of his ſon Vortimer. Many battles

6. *Chron. Sax.* ubi ſup. *Ann. Beverl.* p. 49.

7. Bede, lib. i. Gildas, ſec. xxiii.

PART. I. were fought between the Saxons and Britons with various ſucceſs, though commonly on the ſide of the former; and, in one of theſe battles, the Saxon general Horſa was ſlain. The ſole command now devolved upon Hengiſt; who, continually reinforced with freſh troops from Germany, carried deſolation to the moſt remote poſſeſſions of the Britons. Anxious to ſpread the terror of his arms, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition[8]. The deſcription is too horrible to read: and, for the honour of humanity, I am willing to ſuppoſe it untrue.

Of the unhappy Britons, who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſome took refuge among inacceſſible rocks and mountains; many periſhed by hunger; and many, forſaking their aſylum, preſerved their lives at the expence of their liberty. Others, croſſing the ſea, ſought ſhelter among their countrymen in Armorica. They who remained at home ſuffered every ſpecies of miſery: they were not only robbed of all temporal but ſpiritual benefits[9]. In this extremity, a Britiſh and a Chriſtian hero appeared. Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen. He defeated the Saxons in ſeveral engagements; and particularly in the famous battle of Ba-
A. D. 520. don-hill, which procured the Britons tranquillity for upwards of forty years. But the ſucceſs of Hengiſt and his followers having excited the ambition of other German tribes, who arrived at different times, and under different leaders, yet all ſpeaking one language, being governed by the ſame regulations, and paſſing under the common appellation of Saxons or Angles, they were naturally led to unite againſt the ancient inhabitants of the iſland. The Britons therefore ultimately found themſelves unequal to the con-

8. Bede, lib. i. Gildas, ſec. xxiv. Uſher, p. 226.
9. Bede, Gildas, Uſher, ubi ſup.

teſt,

teſt, and retired to the mountains of Cornwal and Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inacceſſible ſituation [10]. LETTER VII. A. D. 580.

THE Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons (for they are mentioned under both theſe denominations), are now abſolute maſters of the whole fertile and cultivated part of South Britain, which had changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, cuſtoms, and political inſtitutions [11]. Hiſtory affords an example of few conqueſts more bloody, and few revolutions ſo violent, as that effected by the Saxons. In the courſe of their wars with the Britons, which continued an hundred and thirty-five years, they had eſtabliſhed many ſeparate kingdoms, the ſeventh and laſt of which was that of Northumberland. The names of the other kingdoms were Kent, Suſſex, Eſſex, Weſſex, Mercia, and Eaſt Anglia. Theſe ſeven kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy [12].

WHILE the Saxons had to ſtruggle with the Britons for dominion, their ſeveral princes leagued againſt the common enemy, and an union of councils and intereſts was preſerved. But after the wretched

10. Gul. Malmſ. lib. i. H. Huntingdon, lib. ii. *Chron. Sax.* p. 20.

11. The Saxons and Angles were originally diſtinct tribes; but, at the time they landed in Britain, they were ſo much incorporated, as to paſs ſometimes under the one name, ſometimes under the other. (Alford. ad Ann. 449.) Hence the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them by moſt writers. The Jutes had alſo a conſiderable ſhare in the conqueſt of South Britain, and ſettled themſelves in Kent and the Iſle of Wight. Eſſex, Middleſex, Surrey, Suſſex, and all the ſouthern counties, as far as Cornwal, were peopled by Saxons. The Saxons alſo took poſſeſſion of the northern counties. Norfolk, Suffolk, and all the midland counties were inhabited by Angles. Bede, lib. i. ii. Ethelwerd, lib. i. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Hume, vol. i. chap. i.

12. The extent of the different kingdoms is of too little importance now to deſerve a particular deſcription.

PART I.

natives were ſhut up in their barren mountains, and the conquerors had nothing to fear from them, the bond of alliance was in a great meaſure diſſolved among the princes of the Heptarchy: and although one prince ſeems ſtill to have aſſumed, or to have been allowed ſome aſcendant over the reſt, his authority was ſo very limited, that each ſtate acted as if entirely independent. Jealouſies and diſſenſions aroſe among the Saxon chiefs, and theſe were followed by perpetual wars; which, in Milton's opinion, are no more worthy of a particular narration, than the combats of kites or crows. And, independent of ſo great an authority, which however it would be preſumption to ſlight, it may be ſafely affirmed, That the barren records tranſmitted to us, and the continued barbarities of the times, render it impoſſible for the moſt eloquent and diſcerning writer to make this portion of our hiſtory either inſtructive or entertaining. It will therefore be ſufficient for me to obſerve, That, after a variety of inferior revolutions, the ſeven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under Egbert, king of Weſſex, in the year 827[13]. His dominions were nearly of the ſame extent with what is now properly called ENGLAND; a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

A. D. 827.

THE Anglo-Saxons, before this period, had been converted to Chriſtianity by the preaching of Auguſtine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent; but as they received that doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome,

13. Weſſex, or the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, extended over the counties of Hants, Dorſet, Wilts, Berks, and the Iſle of Wight.

though

though it opened an intercourſe with the more poliſhed ſtates of Europe, it had not hitherto been very effectual either in purifying their minds, or in ſoftening their manners. The groſſeſt ignorance and ſuperſtition prevailed among them. Reverences to ſaints and reliques ſeemed to have ſupplanted the worſhip of the ſupreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of ſociety; and monaſtic obſervances were more eſteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues ſo habitual to the Saxons, began to fall into neglect. The nobility themſelves came to prefer the indolence and ſecurity of the cloiſter to the toils and tumults of war; and the crown, impoveriſhed by continual benefactions to the church, had no rewards for the encouragement of valour.

THIS corrupt ſpecies of Chriſtianity was attended with another train of inconveniences, proceeding from a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome. The Britons had conducted all eccleſiaſtical matters by their own ſynods and councils, acknowleging no ſubordination to the Roman pontiff; but the Saxons having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to conſider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly repreſented as the moſt meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themſelves, reſigning their crowns, implored a ſafe paſſport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the ſackcloth [14].

BUT England, even in thoſe times of Britiſh darkneſs, gave birth to ſome men equal, at leaſt, to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia,

14. Bede, lib. i. ii. Spell. *Conc.* H. Hunting. lib. iii.

was

was thought worthy the friendſhip of Charlemagne, the greateſt prince that Europe had produced for many centuries; and Alcuin, an Engliſh clergyman, had the honour of inſtructing that illuſtrious monarch in the ſciences, at a time when he was ſurrounded by all the literati of Chriſtendom.

HAVING mentioned Charlemagne, I think it neceſſary to obſerve, That I ſhall return to the hiſtory of that great conqueror and legiſlator before we proceed to the reign of Egbert, the firſt Engliſh monarch; who, as you will afterwards have occaſion more fully to know, was educated in the court, and in the armies of the new emperor of the Weſt. Meanwhile, my dear Philip, I muſt ſay a few words of the government, laws, and manners of the Saxons, after their ſettlement in Britain.

LETTER VIII.

The GOVERNMENT, LAWS, *and* MANNERS *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS.

HAD the Saxons, on their ſettlement in Britain, eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government with the other northern nations that ſeized the provinces of the Roman empire, this Letter would have been in a great meaſure unneceſſary; but as they rather exterminated than ſubdued the natives, and were under few apprehenſions from foreign enemies, they had no occaſion to burden themſelves with feudal ſervices. They therefore retained entire their civil and military inſtitutions: they tranſplanted into this iſland thoſe principles of liberty and independency which they had ſo highly cheriſhed at home, which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, and which ſtill continue

tinue to flouriſh among their deſcendants. Their original conſtitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the ſtate was the voluntary care of its members, as every free man had a ſhare in the government; and conqueſt was the intereſt of all, as all partook in the acquiſitions. Their king, or chief, was only the firſt citizen of the community: his authority was extremely limited; and depended, as did his ſtation, principally on his perſonal qualities. The ſucceſſion was neither elective nor hereditary. A ſon who inherited his father's virtues and talents was ſure to ſucceed to his ſway; but if he happened to be weak, wicked, or under age, the next in blood was generally raiſed to the throne, or the perſon of moſt eminence in the ſtate [1].

We owe to the maſterly pen of Tacitus this account of the primitive government of the Saxons, who were a tribe of the ancient Cimbri. Unfortunately the Saxon Annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after their ſettlement in Britain. The government might be ſomewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might alſo undergo ſeveral changes before the Norman conqueſt; but of thoſe changes we are ignorant. We only know, That at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Wittenagemot or Aſſembly of the Wiſe Men, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to the enacting of laws, and to give ſanction to the meaſures of public adminiſtration. But who the conſtituent members of that aſſembly were, has not hitherto been determined with certainty. The moſt probable conjecture however ſeems to be, That it conſiſted of the nobility, the dignified clergy, and all freeholders poſſeſſing a cer-

1. Tacit. de *Moribus Germ.* cap. xi.

tain

PART I. tain portion of land. How much cannot now be diſtinctly aſcertained, though it appears to have been very conſiderable; for, notwithſtanding what has been aſſerted by ſome popular writers, the repreſentatives of boroughs could have no ſhare in ſuch aſſembly, the burgeſſes all over Europe being excluded from the national councils till a much later period, and in a condition little ſuperior to that of ſlavery [2]. Trade and induſtry were then of no repute. Beſides, the ancient hiſtorians in mentioning the members of the Wittenagemot, always call them the *principes*, *ſatrapæ*, *optimates*, *magnates*, *proceres*, terms by no means applicable to the commons.

THE Saxons, like all the German nations, were divided into three orders of men; the noble, the free, and the ſervile. Theſe diſtinctions they brought into Britain with them. The nobles were called Thanes, and were of two kinds, the greater and leſſer thanes. The latter ſeem to have had ſome dependence on the former, as the former had on the king, but of what nature is uncertain. The lower kind of freemen among the Saxons were denominated Ceorles, and were chiefly employed in huſbandry. Whence a huſbandman and ceorle came to be ſynonymous terms. They farmed the lands of the nobility, or higher orders, and appear to have been removable at pleaſure. But the ſlaves, or Villains, were by much the moſt numerous claſs in the community; and being the property of their maſters, were conſequently incapable of holding any property themſelves. They were of two kinds: houſhold ſlaves, after the manner of the ancients; and ruſtic ſlaves, who were ſold and transferred, like cattle, with the ſoil. The long wars between the Saxons

2. See Robertſon's Introd. *Hiſt. Ch.* V. ſect. i. and Brady's *Firm. Burg.* or *Treatiſe on Engliſh Boroughs.*

and

and the Britons, and afterwards between the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, ſeem to have been the cauſe of the diſproportionate number of theſe unhappy men; for priſoners taken in battle, or carried off by violence, were reduced to ſlavery by the laws of war, and entirely at the diſpoſal of their conquerors[3]." LETTER VIII.

THE higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Anglo-Saxons poſſeſſed a criminal juriſdiction within their own territories, and could puniſh without appeal ſuch as they judged worthy of death. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greateſt abuſe. But although the Saxon government ſeems at laſt to have become in a great meaſure ariſtocratical, there were ſtill conſiderable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders aſſembled twice a-year in the county-courts, or Shiremotes, to receive appeals from the inferior courts; a practice well calculated for the preſervation of general liberty, and for reſtraining the exorbitant power of the nobles. In theſe courts they decided all cauſes eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, the biſhop and alderman, or earl, preſiding over them. The caſe was determined by a majority of voices, without much pleading, formality, or delay; the biſhop and earl having no farther authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and offer their advice when neceſſary[4]. Though it ſhould therefore be granted, that the Wit enagemot was compoſed entirely of the greater thanes and dignified clergy, yet in a government where few taxes were impoſed by the legiſlature, and few ſtatutes enacted; where the nation was leſs governed by laws than by cuſtoms, which allowed much latitude of in-

3. L. Edg. ſec. xiv. ap. Spelman, *Conc.* vol. i. Brady, *Gen. Pref.* p. 7, 8, 9. Nithard. *Hiſt.* lib. iv.

4. Hickes, *Diſſert.* Epiſt. ii—viii.

terpretation,

PART I. terpretation, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide baſis for freedom.

THE criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as of moſt barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild; a compenſation in money being ſufficient for murder of any kind, and for the life of perſons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbiſhop, whoſe head, by the laws of Kent, was eſtimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was alſo ſettled: and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered by the laws of Ethelbert to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife; a proof, though ſomewhat equivocal, of the eſtimation in which women were then held. The puniſhments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If any perſon could track his ſtolen cattle into another's ground, the owner of the ground was obliged to ſhew their tracks out of it, or pay the value of the cattle [5].

BUT if the puniſhments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were ſingular, their proofs were no leſs ſo. When any controverſy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourſe to what they called the Judgment of God; or, in other words, to chance. Their modes of conſulting that blind divinity were various, but the moſt common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practiſed either by boiling water or red-hot iron. The water or iron was conſecrated by many prayers, maſſes, faſtings and exorciſms; after which the perſon accuſed either took up, with his naked hand, a ſtone

5. *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, ap. Wilkins.

ſunk

ſunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain diſtance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering ſealed for three days; and if on examining it there appeared no marks of burning or ſcalding, the perſon accuſed was pronounced innocent: if otherwiſe, he was declared guilty[6]. The ſame kinds of proof, or others equally extravagant, obtained among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner, was every where the atonement for guilt, both in a civil and eccleſiaſtical ſenſe.

Of the manners of the Anglo-Saxons we can ſay but little. As they introduced themſelves with the deſtruction of every monument of civility, they appear to have remained a rude uncultivated people, in a great meaſure ignorant of letters, and unſkilful in the mechanical arts. With the arts of elegance they were as little acquainted as with the pleaſures of poliſhed life. They were much addicted to intemperance, riot, and diſorder, ſubmitting unwillingly to the reſtraints of law or government. Their beſt qualities were their courage, and their love of liberty and independency. But their courage was ſeldom ſupported by conduct; and their want of fidelity to their prince, or to their aſſociates, of which the examples are but too frequent, throws a ſhade over the moſt exalted virtue of the Anglo-Saxons. Humanity ſeems never to have formed any part of their character, and gallantry appears to have been unknown among them[7]. But of the juſtice of this remark, and of all the foregoing obſervations, you will be better able to judge, when you have read the ſubſequent part of the hiſtory of theſe founders of the Engliſh monarchy.

6. Spelman, in Verb. *Ordeal.*

7. Gul. Pict. See alſo Hume's *Hiſt. of Eng.* Append. I. and Dr. Stuart's *Eſſay on the Britiſh Conſtitution*, where the reader will find a copious and accurate account of the Anglo-Saxon government and manners.

LETTER IX.

The Reign of CHARLEMAGNE, *or* CHARLES *the* GREAT, *King of* FRANCE *and Emperor of the* WEST.

PART I. CHARLES and Carloman, the two ſons of Pepin, and his ſucceſſors in the French monarchy, were men of very different diſpoſitions. Charles was open and generous, Carloman dark and ſuſpicious: it was
A. D. 771. therefore happy for mankind, that Carloman died ſoon after his father, as perpetual wars muſt have been the conſequence of the oppoſite tempers and interfering intereſts of the brothers. Now alone at the head of a powerful kingdom, Charles's great and ambitious genius ſoon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A proſperous reign of forty-ſix years, abounding with military enterprizes, political inſtitutions, and literary foundations, offers to our view, in the midſt of barbariſm, a ſpectacle worthy of more poliſhed ages.

BUT, before we proceed to the hiſtory of this illuſtrious reign, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of Germany at that time.

GERMANY was anciently poſſeſſed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties againſt the Romans, and were never totally ſubjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of thoſe nations left their native country, as we have ſeen, and founded empires of their own; ſo that Germany, at the acceſſion of Charlemagne to the crown of France, was principally occupied by the Saxons. Of their government I have already ſpoken. They were ſtill Pagans. What was then

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then conſidered as their territory comprehended a vaſt tract of country. It was bounded on the weſt by the German ocean, by Bohemia on the eaſt, on the north by the Baltic ſea, and on the ſouth by Germanic France, extending along the Lower Rhine, and from Iſſel beyond Mentz. This extenſive empire was governed by an infinite number of independent princes, and inhabited by a variety of tribes, under different names; who, by reaſon of their want of union, had become tributary to the French monarchs. But whenever the throne of France was vacated by death, or when the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domeſtic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories [1]. Charles had occaſion to quell one of thoſe revolts immediately after the death of his brother: and the work was but imperfectly executed, when his arms were wanted in another quarter.

CHARLES and Carloman had married two daughters of Deſiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two ſons by his wife Berta; but Charles had divorced his conſort, under pretence that ſhe was incapable of bearing children, and married Ildegarda, a princeſs of Suevia. Berta, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herſelf and her children ſafe in France after the death of her huſband, fled to her father in Italy, and put herſelf and her two ſons under his protection. Deſiderius received them with joy. Highly incenſed againſt Charles for divorcing his other daughter, he hoped by means of theſe refugees to raiſe ſuch diſturbances in France as might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. In this hope he was encouraged by his intimacy with pope Adrian I.

1. Eginhard, in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

PART I. to whom he propoſed the crowning and anointing of Carloman's two ſons. But Adrian, though ſufficiently diſpoſed to oblige him, refuſed to comply with the requeſt; ſenſible that by ſo doing he muſt incur the diſpleaſure of Charles, the natural ally of the church, and the only prince capable of protecting him againſt his ambitious enemies. Enraged at a refuſal, Deſiderius ravaged the papal territories; or, as they were called, the *Patrimony of St. Peter*, and threatened to lay ſiege to Rome itſelf. In order to avert the preſſing danger, Adrian reſolved to have recourſe to France, in imitation of his predeceſſors. He accordingly ſent ambaſſadors privately to Charlemagne, not only imploring his aſſiſtance, but inviting him to the conqueſt of Italy, his friendſhip for Deſiderius being now converted into the moſt rancorous hate. The French monarch, who waited only an opportunity to revenge himſelf on that prince for keeping his nephews, and ſtill more for wanting to crown them, received the pope's invitation with incredible ſatisfaction. He immediately left Germany, concluding a kind of treaty with the Saxons, and collected ſuch an army as evidently ſhewed, that his object was nothing leſs than the extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards [2].

DESIDERIUS, informed of theſe preparations, put himſelf at the head of a great army, and ſent ſeveral bodies of troops to guard the paſſes of the Alps. But Charlemagne, appriſed of this precaution, ſent a detachment under experienced guides to croſs the mountains by a different route. The French completed their march; and falling unexpectedly upon the Lombards, who guarded the paſſes, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Charles now entered Italy unmoleſted, and marched in queſt

A. D. 773.

2 Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Anaſt. in *Vit. Hadriani.*

of

of Deſiderius. Finding himſelf unable to keep the field, the king of the Lombards retired to Pavia, his capital; ſending his ſon Adalgiſus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two ſons, to Verona, a place not inferior in ſtrength to Pavia. LETTER. IX. A. D. 773.

As ſoon as Charlemagne underſtood that Deſiderius had taken ſhelter in Pavia, he aſſembled his whole army, and laid ſiege to that city, reſolving not to withdraw his forces till it had ſubmitted; but, as the Lombards made a gallant defence, he changed the ſiege into a blockade, and marched with part of his troops to inveſt Verona. Adalgiſus defended the place, for a time, with great bravery; but finding himſelf, at laſt, reduced to extremities, and deſpairing of relief, he ſecretly withdrew, and fled to Conſtantinople, where he was cordially received by the emperor. Verona now ſurrendered to Charles; who having got Berta, his brother's widow, and her two ſons into his power, ſent them immediately, under a ſtrong guard, into France. What afterwards became of them, hiſtory has not told us. It is much to be feared, however, that their fate was little to the honour of the conqueror. Humanity was not the characteriſtic of thoſe times.

THE ſiege of Pavia was renewed, and puſhed with freſh vigour. But the feſtival of Eaſter approaching, which Charles had reſolved to ſpend at Rome, he left the conduct of the ſiege once more to his uncle Bernard. The pope received his deliverer in the moſt pompous manner, the magiſtrates and judges walking before him with their banners, and the clergy repeating, "Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the "Lord!" After Charles had ſatisfied his curioſity, and confirmed the donation which his father Pepin had made to St. Peter, he returned to the camp be- A. D. 774.

PART I. A. D. 774.

fore Pavia. The Lombards ſtill continued to defend that city with obſtinate valour, ſo that the ſiege was little, if at all advanced; but a plague breaking out among the beſieged, the unfortunate Deſiderius was obliged at laſt to ſurrender his capital, and deliver up himſelf, his wife, and his children, to Charles, who ſent them all into France, where they either died a violent death, or languiſhed out their days in obſcurity, being never more heard of [3].

THUS ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years. They are repreſented by the monkiſh hiſtorians as a cruel and barbarous people, becauſe they oppoſed the ambitious views of the popes; but the many wholeſome laws which they left behind them, and which devouring time has ſtill ſpared, are convincing proofs of their juſtice, humanity, and wiſdom.

A SHORT account of the ſtate of Italy at the time it was entered by Charlemagne will here be proper, and alſo of the new form of government introduced there by the conqueror.

ITALY was then ſhared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the Eaſt. The Venetians were become very conſiderable by their trade to the Levant, and bore no ſmall ſway in the affairs of Italy, though it does not appear that they had yet any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generoſity of Pepin and his ſon Charles, was now maſter of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and ſome cities in the two Calabrias, were ſtill held by the emperors of the Eaſt. All the other provinces of Italy belonged to the Lom-

3. Leo Oſtienſ. Monach. Engoliſm.

bards;

bards; namely the dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuſcany, and the Alpes Cottiæ, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. Theſe Charles claimed by right of conqueſt, and cauſed himſelf, in imitation of them, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown [4], which is ſtill preſerved in the little town of Monza.

THE ceremony of coronation being over, the conqueror thought it neceſſary to ſettle the government of his new kingdom, before he left Italy; and, after conſulting with the pope, who declared him patrician of Rome, and protector of the apoſtolic ſee, he agreed that the people ſhould be permitted to live under their former laws, and that all things ſhould remain as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors. Accordingly he allowed the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, the ſame authority which they had enjoyed under the Lombard kings. He alſo permitted the other dukes to hold their dukedoms, contenting himſelf with an oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, and likewiſe the three great dukes, to take annually. It was conceived in theſe words: "I promiſe, without fraud "or deceit, to be faithful to my ſovereign Charles, "and his ſons, as long as I live; and I ſwear, by "theſe Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithful to him, "as a vaſſal to his lord and ſovereign; neither will I "divulge any thing, which, in virtue of my allegi-"ance, he ſhall commit to me." He never transferred a dukedom from one family to another, unleſs when the duke broke his oath, or died without male iſſue. This tranſlation from one to another was called *inveſtiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not grant-

4. Eginhard in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

PART I. ed but by inveſtiture, as was afterwards the caſe with reſpect to other vaſſals and feudatories [5].

CHARLES committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts, who were veſted with great authority. Theſe boundaries were called Marchæ or Marches, and thoſe who had the care of them were ſtyled Counts of the Marches, or Marquiſſes; whence the title Marquis had its riſe. He alſo ſent occaſionally *miſſi*, or commiſſaries, who were veſted with higher powers, and examined into the conduct of the counts, whoſe province it was to adminiſter juſtice over all the dominions of Charlemagne.—That Italy might retain at leaſt ſome ſhadow of liberty, he convened, as often as he returned thither, a general aſſembly of all the biſhops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to ſettle affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order in the ſtate, compoſed of the barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, the clergy and nobility: hence was added by Charles in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of eccleſiaſtics to that of the barons or nobles [6].

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, Charles returned to France, and marched immediately againſt the Saxons, who had again revolted during his abſence. But his wars with that barbarous, though brave and independent people, which laſted upwards of thirty years, and formed the principal buſineſs of his reign, could afford little pleaſure to a humanized mind. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, That, after a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed on both ſides, the Saxons were totally ſubjected, and

5. Sigonius, ubi ſup. 6. Ibid.

Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A deſire of converting the Saxons to Chriſtianity ſeems to have been one of the principal motives for proſecuting this conqueſt; and as they were no leſs tenacious of their religion than their liberty, perſecution marched in the train of war, and ſtained with blood the fetters of ſlavery.

WITIKIND, ſo deſervedly celebrated by his nation, was the moſt eminent Saxon general during theſe hoſtilities. He frequently rouſed the drooping valour of his countrymen, and revived in their hearts the love of liberty and independency. Nor were they wanting to him in attachment, for which they ſeverely paid. After an unſucceſsful revolt, when they went to make ſubmiſſion to Charlemagne, he ordered four thouſand five hundred of their principal men to be maſſacred, becauſe they refuſed to deliver up their general [7]. An equal inſtance of ſeverity is not, perhaps, to be met with in the hiſtory of mankind; eſpecially if we conſider, that the Saxons were not Charles's natural ſubjects, but an independent people ſtruggling for freedom. Witikind at laſt ſubmitted, and embraced Chriſtianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inſpire his aſſociates with the ſame docile ſentiments: they were continually revolting; and ſubmitting, that they might have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more reſolute ſpirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them their vindictive hatred againſt the dominion and the religion of France.

A WORD here of religion. Charlemagne very juſtly conſidered the mild doctrines of Chriſtianity as the beſt means of taming a ſavage people; but he was miſtaken

7. Eginhard. in *Annal.*

PART I. in ſuppoſing, that force will ever make Chriſtians. His Capitulars for the Saxons are almoſt as barbarous as their manners. He obliges them, under pain of death, to receive baptiſm; he condemns to the ſevereſt puniſhments the breakers of Lent: in a word, he every where ſubſtitutes force for perſuaſion. Inſtead therefore of blaming the obſtinacy of theſe barbarians, we ought to be filled with horror at the cruel bigotry of the conqueror.

ALMOST every year of Charles's reign was ſignalized by ſome military expedition, though very different from thoſe of our times. War was then carried on without any ſettled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly diſciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vaſſals, who were only obliged to ſerve for a certain time; ſo that there was a kind of neceſſity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was diſſolved on the approach of winter, and aſſembled next ſeaſon, if neceſſary. Hence we are enabled to account for a circumſtance, which would otherwiſe appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince.—Beſides the Lombards and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquiſhed in ſeveral engagements the Abares or Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Raab on the Danube. He likewiſe made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro [8].

ABDERAHMAN, the Mooriſh king, whom I have already mentioned, ſtill reigned with luſtre at Cordova. A ſuperb moſque, now the cathedral of that city, ſix hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty-five columns of alabaſter, jaſper, and black marble, continues to manifeſt the grandeur of this monarch.

8. Id. ibid.

No

No other people but the Arabs could then either have conceived or executed ſuch a work. The little Chriſtian king of the Aſturias had prudently ſued for peace from Abderahman; but the Mooriſh governors of Saragoſſa and Arragon having revolted, implored the aſſiſtance of Charlemagne, offering to acknowledge him as their ſovereign. Willing to extend his empire on that ſide, Charles croſſed the Pyrenees with all expedition; took Pampeluna and Saragoſſa, and reeſtabliſhed the Mooriſh governors under his protection. In repaſſing the mountains, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gaſcony, at Roncevaux[9]. Here fell the famous Roland, ſo much celebrated in Romance, and repreſented as nephew to Charlemagne; though hiſtory only tells us, that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne. A. D. 778.

But Charles, though engaged in ſo many wars, was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happineſs of his ſubjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his conſtant ſtudy. He frequently convened the national aſſemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and ſtate. In theſe aſſemblies he propoſed ſuch laws as he conſidered to be of public benefit, and allowed the ſame liberty to others; but of this liberty, indeed, it would have been difficult to deprive the French nobles, who had been accuſtomed, from the foundation of the monarchy, to ſhare the legiſlation with their ſovereign. His attention extended even to the moſt diſtant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Senſible how much mankind in general reverence old cuſtoms, and thoſe conſtitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only

9. Eginhard. ubi ſup.

ſuch

PART I. ſuch alterations as he judged abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the community. He was particularly tender of the common people, and every where ſtudied their eaſe and advantage. This benevolence of mind, which can never be ſufficiently admired, was both more neceſſary and more meritorious in thoſe times, as the commonalty were then in a ſtate of almoſt univerſal oppreſſion, and ſcarcely thought entitled to the common ſympathies of humanity. The ſame love of mankind led him to repair and form public roads; to build bridges, where neceſſary; to make rivers navigable, for the purpoſes of commerce; and to project that grand canal, which would have opened a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine[1c]. This illuſtrious project failed in the execution, for want of thoſe machines which art has ſince conſtructed. But the greatneſs of the conception, and the honour of having attempted it, were beyond the power of contingencies; and poſterity has done juſtice to the memory of Charles, by conſidering him on account of that and his other public ſpirited plans, as one of thoſe few conquerors who did not merely deſolate the earth; as a hero truly worthy of the name, who ſought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his ſpecies.

THIS great prince was no leſs amiable in private life than illuſtrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond huſband, and a generous friend. His houſe was a model of economy, and his perſon of ſimplicity and true grandeur. "For ſhame!" ſaid he to ſome of his nobles, who were finer dreſſed than the occaſion required; "learn to dreſs like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your

1c. Eginhard. *Vit. Car. Mag.*

merit,

merit, not your habit. Leave ſilks and finery to women; or reſerve them for thoſe days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn for ſhew, not uſe." On ſuch occaſions he himſelf appeared in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dreſs was plain, and his table frugal. His only exceſs was in the pleaſure of the ſexes, at once the moſt natural and the moſt excuſeable; and this, it muſt be owned, he ſometimes carried to ſuch a height as to endanger his very athletic conſtitution, he being almoſt ſeven feet high, and proportionably ſtrong. He had his ſet hours for ſtudy, which he ſeldom omitted, either in the camp or the court; and, notwithſtanding his continual wars, and unremitted attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leiſure to collect the old French poems and hiſtorical ballads, with a view to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the monarchy. The loſs of this collection is much to be lamented, and could never have happened, if every one had been as well acquainted with its importance as Charles. But he was the phœnix of his age; and, though not altogether free from its prejudices, his liberal and comprehenſive mind, which examined every thing, and yet found time for all things, would have done honour to the moſt enlightened period. He was fond of the company of learned men, and aſſembled them about him from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy, of which he himſelf condeſcended to become a member. He alſo eſtabliſhed ſchools, in the cathedrals and principal abbies, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church-muſic [11]; certainly no very elevated ſciences, yet conſiderable at a time when many dignified eccleſiaſtics could not ſubſcribe the canons of thoſe councils in which they ſat as

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11. Id. ibid.

members,

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members [12], and when it was deemed a ſufficient qualification for a prieſt to be able to read the Goſpels, and underſtand the Lord's Prayer [13].

ALCUIN, our learned countryman, was the companion, and particular favourite of Charlemagne; inſtructed him in the ſciences, and was at the head of his Royal Academy. A circumſtance ſo much to the honour of this iſland ſhould be omitted by no Britiſh hiſtorian. Three rich abbies were the reward of the learning and talents of Alcuin. This benevolence has been thought to border on profuſion; but in that age of darkneſs, when even an enthuſiaſtic zeal for letters was a virtue, no encouragement could be too great for the illuminators of the human mind.

HAD Charles's religious enthuſiaſm been attended with no worſe conſequences than his literary ardour, his piety would have been as deſervedly admired as his taſte. But a blind zeal for the propagation of Chriſtianity, which extinguiſhed his natural feelings, made him guilty, as we have already ſeen, of ſeverities that ſhock humanity; and a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ſee of Rome, which mingled itſelf with his policy, led him to engage in theological diſputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. The honours which his father Pepin and he owed to the popes can only render him in any degree excuſeable. But although the theological ſide of Charles's character is by no means the brighteſt, it merits your attention; as it ſerves to ſhew the prejudices of the age, the littleneſſes of a great man, and the great effects that frequently proceed from little cauſes.

12. *Nov. Traité. Diplom.*

13. Reg. Brumienſ. ap. Bruck. *Hiſt. Philoſ.*

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As Charlemagne was equally a friend to religion and letters, and as any learning which yet remained among mankind, in our quarter of the globe, was monopolized by the clergy, it is not ſurpriſing that they obtained many ſingular marks of his favour. Even the payment of tithes, then conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion, but which he ordered as a compenſation for the lands with-held from the church; and the conſequence which he gave to churchmen, by admitting them into the national aſſemblies, and aſſociating them along with the counts in the adminiſtration of juſtice, appear leſs extravagant than his ſitting himſelf in councils merely eccleſiaſtical, aſſembled about the moſt frivolous points of a vain theology. But, like ſome princes of later times, Charles ſeems to have been ambitious to be conſidered not only as the protector, but the head of the church; and his power and munificence made this uſurpation be overlooked, notwithſtanding the height at which the papal dignity had then arrived. We accordingly find him ſeated on a throne in the council of Franckfort, with one of the pope's legates on each hand, and three hundred biſhops waiting his nod. A. D. 794.

THE purpoſe of that council was to examine the doctrine of two Spaniſh biſhops; who, in order to refute the accuſation of polytheiſm, brought againſt the Chriſtians by the Jews and Mahometans, maintained that Jeſus Chriſt is the ſon of God only by adoption. The king opened the aſſembly himſelf, and propoſed the condemnation of this hereſy. The council decided conformably to his will: and in a letter to the churches of Spain, in conſequence of that deciſion, Charles expreſſes himſelf in theſe remarkable words. "You entreat me to judge of myſelf: "I have done ſo: I have aſſiſted as an auditor, and "an

PART I. A. D. 794.

"an arbiter, in an aſſembly of biſhops: we have examined, and, by the grace of God, we have ſettled, what muſt be believed!" Neither Conſtantine, nor any other of the Greek emperors, ſo jealous of their theological prerogative, ever uſed a more poſitive language.

CHARLEMAGNE went ſtill farther in the queſtion of images. Leo IV. the ſon of Conſtantine Copronymus, as zealous an image-breaker as his father, had baniſhed his wife Irene, becauſe ſhe hid images beneath her pillow. This devout and ambitious princeſs coming afterwards to the government, during the minority of her ſon Conſtantine Porphyrogenetus, with whom ſhe was aſſociated in the empire, re-eſtabliſhed that worſhip which ſhe loved, from policy no leſs than piety. The ſecond council of Nice accordingly decreed, That we ought to render to images an *honorary* worſhip, but not a real *adoration*, which is due to God alone. Unfortunately, however, the tranſlation of the acts of this council, which pope Adrian ſent into France, was ſo defective, that the ſenſe of the article relating to images was entirely perverted, running thus: "I receive and honour images "according to that adoration which I pay to the Tri-"nity." Charles was ſo much incenſed at this impiety, that he compoſed, by the aſſiſtance of the clergy, and publiſhed in his own name, what are called the *Carolin Books*, in which the Council of Nice is treated with the utmoſt contempt and abuſe. He ſent theſe Books to Adrian I. deſiring him to excommunicate the empreſs and her ſon. The pope prudently excuſed himſelf on the ſcore of images, making Charles ſenſible of the miſtake upon which he had proceeded; but he inſinuated at the ſame time, that he would declare Irene and Conſtantine heretics, unleſs they reſtored certain lands, which had belonged

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ed to the church; artfully hinting at certain projects, which he had formed for the *exaltation* of the Roman church and the French monarchy [14]. The exaltation of the monarchy was at hand, though Adrian did not live to be the inſtrument of it. LETTER IX.

LEO III. who ſucceeded Adrian in the papacy, ſent immediately to Charlemagne the ſtandard of Rome, begging him to ſend ſome perſon to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans [15]; a moſt flattering inſtance of ſubmiſſion, as well as a proof that the ſovereignty of Rome, at that time, belonged to the kings of France. Three years after, Paſcal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope, not only offered themſelves as accuſers of Leo, but attacked him in the public ſtreets; wounded him in ſeveral places, and dragged him half-dead into the church of St. Mark. He made his eſcape by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends; and the duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, ſent him under an eſcort to Charlemagne. Charles received him with all poſſible marks of reſpect, ſent him back with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and went ſoon after to Italy in perſon to do him juſtice [16]. A. D. 796. A. D. 799.

ON the arrival of the French monarch at Rome, he ſpent ſix days in private conferences with the pope; after which he convoked the biſhops and nobles, to examine the accuſation brought againſt the pontiff. "The apoſtolic ſee," exclaimed the biſhops, "cannot be judged by man!" Leo, however, ſpoke to the accuſation: he ſaid the king came to *know the cauſe*; and, no proof appearing againſt him, he purged himſelf by oath. A. D. 800.

14. *Elemens d'Hiſt Gen.* par M. l'Abbé Millot, par. II. tom. i.
15 Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*
16. Anaſt. in *Vit. Leon.*

THE

PART I. A. D. 800.

THE trial of a pope was doubtleſs an uncommon ſcene, but one ſoon followed yet more extraordinary. On Chriſtmas-day, as the king aſſiſted at maſs in St. Peter's church, in the midſt of the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies, and while he was on his knees before the altar, the ſupreme pontiff advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As ſoon as the people perceived it, they cried, "Long life and victory to "Charles Auguſtus, crowned by the hand of God! "—Long live the great and pious emperor of the "Romans." During theſe acclamations, the pope conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the purpoſe; and, as ſoon as he was ſeated, paid him thoſe honours which his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the Roman emperors, declaring that, inſtead of the title of Patrician, he ſhould henceforth ſtyle him Emperor and Auguſtus. Leo now preſented him with the imperial mantle; with which being inveſted, Charles returned amidſt the acclamations of the populace, to his palace [17].

THE pope had ſurely no right to proclaim an emperor; but Charles was worthy of the imperial enſigns: and although he cannot properly be ranked among the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus, he is juſtly conſidered as the founder of the New Empire of the Weſt.

CHARLEMAGNE was no ſooner proclaimed emperor than his title was univerſally acknowledged; and he received ſeveral embaſſies, which muſt have given him high ſatisfaction, as they did equal honour to the prince and the man. Irene, empreſs of the Eaſt, the moſt artful and ambitious woman of her time, who had depoſed her ſon Conſtantine, that ſhe might

17. Id. ib. Eginhard. in *Annal.*

reign

reign alone, made the new emperor a propoſal of marriage. This propoſal was made with a view to ſecure her Italian dominions, which ſhe was informed Charles intended to ſeize; and the marriage-treaty was actually concluded, when Nicephorus the patrician conſpired againſt Irene, baniſhed her to the iſland of Leſbos, and aſcended the imperial throne. Nicephorus alſo fearing the power of Charles, ſent ambaſſadors to him under the title of Auguſtus. They ſettled the limits of the two empires, by a new treaty; according to which Calabria, Sicily, the ſea-coaſt of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, were to continue under the dominion of the emperors of Conſtantinople[18]. This treaty proves, that the Venetians were not yet altogether independent; but they aſpired at independency, and ſoon deſervedly obtained it.

LETTER IX.

A. D. 802.

The renown of Charles extended even into Aſia. He kept a correſpondence with the famous Harun-al-Raſchid, the twenty-fifth calif, and one of thoſe who contributed moſt to enlighten and poliſh the Arabs. This prince valued the friendſhip of Charlemagne above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which he complimented him with an embaſſy ſoon after he was proclaimed emperor, and ceded to him, if not the lordſhip of Jeruſalem, as ſome authors affirm, at leaſt the holy places in that city, whither devotion already led a great number of Chriſtians. Among the preſents which the ambaſſadors of Al-Raſchid brought into France was a ſtriking clock, the firſt ever ſeen in that kingdom; for notwithſtanding the efforts of Charlemagne to enlighten his nation, the ſcholars of his court were by no means equal to thoſe of the calif's in knowledge, nor his people in the arts, either liberal

18. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.* Adon. *Chron.* Theoph. *Chronographia.*

PART I. or mechanical. The Arabs might then have been preceptors to all Europe.

I MUST here ſay a few words of this ſurpriſing phenomenon.

THE Abaſſides having aſcended the throne of Mahomet, transferred the ſeat of the califat from Damaſcus to Caffa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris. Thither the calif Al-Manſur attracted the arts and ſciences. The Greeks had furniſhed ideas, and communicated taſte to their barbarous conquerors; a ſpecies of triumph reſerved for civilized nations, even in a ſtate of debaſement, and a conſolation in ſervitude, if any thing can conſole a people for the loſs of liberty. Al-Mohdi, ſucceſſor of Al-Manſur, cultivated theſe precious ſeeds; and Al-Raſchid, ſucceſſor of Al-Mohdi, augmented their fecundity by his knowledge and attention, being equally liberal and enlightened. Under Al-Mamun, Al-Motaſem, Al-Wathek, and their immediate ſucceſſors, the ſciences flouriſhed ſtill more; but, at length, diſſenſions and civil wars robbed the Arabs, in their turn, of the fruits of genius and the lights of learning, which are almoſt inſeparable from public tranquillity.

IN all nations the ſame revolutions are produced by the ſame cauſes. Nothing merits your attention more in the ſtudy of hiſtory.

ONE of the principal cauſes of the fall of empires has ever been, but more eſpecially in modern times, the error of dividing the ſame monarchy among different princes. The cuſtom was eſtabliſhed before
A. D. 806. Charlemagne: he followed it, by a teſtamentary diviſion of his dominions among his three ſons, Charles, Pepin, and Lewis. The particulars of this diviſion

are

are of little conſequence, as Lewis only ſurvived his father. It is neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that the Italian provinces were aſſigned to Pepin; a donation which was confirmed to his ſon Bernard, with the title of king of Italy, and proved the ruin of that prince, as well as the cauſe of much diſturbance to the empire. LETTER IX.

In the mean time, the emperor was threatened by a new enemy, and the moſt formidable he had ever encountered. The Normans, as the French call them, or the inhabitants of the great northern peninſula of Europe, whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion more particularly to mention, had long harraſſed the coaſts of his extenſive dominions with their robberies and piracies; and notwithſtanding the wiſe meaſures of Charles, who created a powerful marine, and took every other precaution againſt their ravages, they not only continued their depredations, but made a formal deſcent in Friezland, under their king Godfrey, laying every thing waſte before them. Charles aſſembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a deciſive battle, which might perhaps have terminated the empire of the Franks, as Godfrey was not inferior to the emperor either in valour or military ſkill, and had a numerous body of fearleſs adventurers under his command. But the iſſue of this battle was prevented by the death of Godfrey, who was aſſaſſinated by one of his own guards. His troops immediately re-embarked, and a peace was afterwards concluded with his ſon [19]. A. D. 808.

The ſatisfaction which Charles muſt have received from this deliverance, and the general tranquillity which he now enjoyed, was more than balanced

19. Adon. Chron. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

PART I. by his domeſtic misfortunes. He loſt his favourite daughter Rotrude (for whom he is ſuppoſed to have felt more than a fatherly affection), his ſon Pepin, and his ſon Charles. Soon after the death of Charles,

A. D. 813. he aſſociated his ſon Lewis with him in the empire. The ceremony was very ſolemn. As if this great man had foreſeen the uſurpations of the church, he placed the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it, and ſet it on his own head [20]; intimating thereby, that he held it only of God.

A. D. 814. THE emperor died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his uſual reſidence, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and the forty-ſeventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire ſeemed to expire with him. He poſſeſſed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the continent of Italy as far as Benevento [21]. But to govern ſuch an extent of territory, a monarch muſt be endowed with the genius of a Charlemagne.

20. *Vit. Ludovici Pii.* 21. Eginhard. ubi ſup.

LET-

LETTER X.

The Empire of CHARLEMAGNE *and the* CHURCH, *from the Acceſſion of* LEWIS *the* DEBONAIR, *to the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD.

LETTER X.

THE hiſtory of Europe, for ſeveral ages after the death of Charlemagne, is little more than a catalogue of crimes, and a regiſter of the debaſing effects of ignorance and ſuperſtition. His empire ſoon experienced the fate of Alexander's. It had quickly attained its height; and yet, while animated by the ſuperior genius of Charles, it poſſeſſed a ſurpriſing degree of ſtrength and harmony. But theſe not being natural to the feudal ſyſtem, the diſcordant elements began to ſeparate under his ſon Lewis the Debonair, ſo called on account of the gentleneſs of his manners; and that vaſt body, no longer informed by the ſame ſpirit, was in a ſhort time entirely diſmembered.

LEWIS, though a prince of ſome abilities, was unable to ſupport ſo great a weight of empire: and his piety and parental fondneſs, however amiable in themſelves, enfeebled a character already too weak, and an authority never reſpected. He rendered himſelf odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuſes, without foreſeeing that this powerful body would not pay to him the ſame ſubmiſſion they had yielded to the ſuperior capacity of his father. More religious than political, he ſpent leſs time in ſettling the affairs of his empire than thoſe of his ſoul; ignorant that true religion conſiſts in fulfilling the duties of our ſtation, and that the practices of the cloiſter are improperly aſſociated with the functions of the throne. But his greateſt error was occaſioned

PART I. by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions among his children. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, A. D. 817. he aſſociated his eldeſt ſon Lothario with him in the empire: he created Pepin king of Aquitaine; Lewis, king of Bavaria; and, after the ceremony of coronation was over, he ſent them to the government of their reſpective kingdoms [1].

BERNARD, king of Italy, the grandſon of Charlemagne, was offended at that diviſion. He thought his right to the empire ſuperior to Lothario's, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis. The archbiſhops of Milan and Cremona flattered him in his pretenſions: he revolted, and levied war againſt his uncle, in contempt of the imperial authority, to which his crown was ſubject. Lewis acted on this occaſion with more vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected; he immediately raiſed a powerful army, and was preparing to croſs the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops. That unfortunate prince was made priſoner, and condemned to loſe his head; but his uncle, by a ſingular kind of lenity, mitigated the ſentence to the loſs of his eyes. A. D. 818. He died three days after the puniſhment was inflicted: and Lewis, to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural ſons of Charlemagne to be ſhaved, and ſhut up in a convent [2].

IN conſequence of theſe rigours, the emperor was ſeized with keen remorſe; accuſing himſelf of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers, inhumanly ſecluded from the world. He was encouraged by the monks in this melancholy hu-

1. Nithard. *de Diſſentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*
2. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

mour; which at laſt grew to ſuch a height, that he impeached himſelf in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and begged the biſhops to enjoin him public penance[3]. The clergy now ſenſible of Lewis's weakneſs, ſet no bounds to their uſurpations. The popes thought they might do any thing under ſo pious a prince: they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediately aſſumed the tiara, and were guilty of every other irregularity. The biſhops exalted themſelves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction. Even that ſet of men who pretend to renounce the world, the monks, ſeemed to aſpire at the government of it. LETTER X. A. D. 818.

Lewis, by the advice of his miniſters, who were deſirous to divert him from his monaſtic habits, had married a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Judith, deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Bavaria, and diſtinguiſhed both by her mental and perſonal qualities. That princeſs brought him a ſon, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald, whoſe birth was the occaſion of much joy, but proved eventually the cauſe of many ſorrows. For this ſon there was no inheritance, the imperial dominions being already divided among the children of the firſt marriage. The empreſs, who had gained a great aſcendency over her huſband, therefore, preſſed Lewis to place her ſon Charles on a footing with his other children, by a new diviſion of the empire[4]. Aquitaine and Bavaria were ſmall kingdoms, from them nothing could be expected; but Lothario's ſhare was large, and might ſpare a little. Senſible of the wiſhes of his indulgent father, and prevailed on by the en- A. D. 824.

3. Theophan. *de Reb. Geſt. Lud. Pii.*

4. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

treaties

PART I. treaties of this fond mother, Lothario conſented that ſome proviſion ſhould accordingly be made for his brother Charles. But he ſoon repented of his too eaſy conceſſion, and the three brothers joined in a re-
A. D. 829. bellion againſt their father[5]; the moſt ſingular circumſtance, perhaps, to be met with in hiſtory.

THESE diſorders were foſtered by Walla, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been in the confidence of Lewis, but was now in diſgrace. He declaimed againſt the court, and againſt the empreſs in particular, accuſing her of an adulterous commerce with count Bernard, the prime miniſter. His ſchemes ſucceeded. The emperor was abandoned by
A. D. 830. his army, and made priſoner, along with his wife Judith, and her ſon Charles. The empreſs was ſhut up in a cloiſter, and Lewis himſelf would have been obliged to take the monaſtic habit, had it not been ſuppoſed that he would make a voluntary reſignation of his crown. He had the courage, however, to inſiſt on the rectitude of his intentions while he acknowledged his errors, and promiſed to act with more circumſpection in future. The nobility pitied their humbled ſovereign; and by the intrigues of the monk Gombaud, who ſowed diſſenſions among the brothers, Lewis was reſtored to his dignity, and ſeemingly reconciled with his family[6].

THE firſt uſe that the emperor made of his liberty, was to recal his conſort to court; though not without the permiſſion of the pope, as ſhe had formally taken the veil. Bernard was alſo recalled, and Walla baniſhed; yet Lewis did not long enjoy either peace or tranquillity. The monk Gombaud thought he had

5. Nithard. ubi ſup. 6. Theogan. *de Geſt. Lud. Pii.*

a right

a right to be prime miniſter, as the reward of his ſervices; and as women generally repay flattery with favour, they as generally reſerve vengeance for inſult: the empreſs brought her animoſities along with her. Walla's friends were perſecuted, and Lothario was deprived of the title of emperor, that the ſucceſſion might be reſerved for young Charles. The three brothers again aſſociated themſelves in a league againſt their father[7]. Count Bernard, diſſatisfied with his maſter's conduct, joined the rebels; and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothario, under pretence of accommodating matters, but really with an intention to employ againſt the emperor that power which he derived from him, glad of an opportunity to aſſert the ſupremacy and independency of the Holy See. A. D. 831.

THE preſence of the pope, in thoſe days of ſuperſtition, was of itſelf ſufficient to determine the fate of Lewis. After a deceitful negociation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothario, the unfortunate emperor found himſelf abandoned by his army, and at the mercy of his rebellious ſons. He was depoſed in a tumultuous aſſembly held on the ſpot, and Lothario proclaimed in his ſtead[8]. After that infamous tranſaction the pope returned to Rome. A.D.

IN order to give permanency to this revolution, as well as to apologize for their own conduct, the biſhops of Lothario's faction bethought themſelves of an artifice, like that which had been made uſe of to degrade king Wamba in Spain. "A penitent," ſaid they, "is incapable of all civil offices: a royal penitent "muſt then be incapable of reigning; let us ſubject

7. Nithard. *de Diſſent. Filior. Lud. Pii.*
8. Theogan. *de Geſt. Lud. Pii.*

"Lewi

PART I. A.D. 833.

"Lewis to a perpetual penance, and he can never "aſcend the throne." He was accordingly arraigned in an aſſembly of the ſtates, by Ebbo, archbiſhop of Rheims, (who had been raiſed by his bounty from the condition of a ſlave) and condemned to do penance for life [9].

Lewis was then a priſoner in the monaſtery of St. Medard, at Soiſſons; and being much intimidated, he patiently ſubmitted to a ceremony no leſs ſolemn than debaſing. He proſtrated himſelf on an hair-cloth, which was ſpread before the altar, and owned himſelf guilty of the charge brought againſt him, in the preſence of many biſhops, canons, and monks; Lothario alſo being preſent, in order to enjoy the ſight of his father's humiliation. But this acknowledgment was not enough: they gave him a written confeſſion to read aloud, in which he is made to accuſe himſelf of ſacrilege and murder, and to number among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an aſſembly on Holy Thurſday, and taking arms to defend himſelf againſt his rebellious children! for ſuperſtition can transform into crimes the moſt innocent and even the moſt neceſſary actions. After having finiſhed his confeſſion, this unhappy prince, by order of the ungrateful archbiſhop, laid aſide his ſword and belt, diveſted himſelf of the royal robes, put on the penitential ſackcloth, and had a cell aſſigned him [10].

But the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, prevailed over the prejudices of the age, and the policy of the clergy. Lothario was univerſally abhorred, and his father no leſs generally pitied:

9. Id. ibid.

10. *Act. Exavet. Lud. Pii.*

his

his two brothers united againſt him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obedience: they paid homage to Lewis, as their lawful ſovereign; and the ambitious Lothario was obliged to crave mercy, in ſight of the whole army, at the feet of a father, and an emperor, whom he had lately inſulted in the habit of a penitent [11]. He received it, and was permitted to retain the kingdom of Italy. LETTER X. A. D. 834.

LEWIS immediately demanded abſolution, (ſuch was his weakneſs!) and an aſſembly held at Thionville formally reſtored him to his dignity, declaring void every thing that had heen done at Soiſſons. He might now have ended his days in peace, but for the intrigues of the empreſs Judith; who, ſtill ambitious of the aggrandizement of her ſon Charles, again entered into a negociation with Lothario, in conſequence of the death of his brother Pepin. An aſſembly was held at Worms, to which he was invited. His father received him kindly, the empreſs loaded him with careſſes. The kingdom of Neuſtria had lately been added to the dominions originally aſſigned her ſon; and the object of all theſe intrigues was, to engage Lothario in a ſcheme by which Charles ſhould alſo become poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Aquitaine, at the expence of Pepin's children. Lothario aſſented to what he was not in a condition to diſpute. But Lewis, king of Bavaria, though not injured by this new diviſion of the empire, was ſo much incenſed at its injuſtice, as he pretended, that he aſſembled the whole force of his dominions. His father marched againſt him, but was ſuddenly taken ill; and an eclipſe of the ſun happening at the ſame time, the ſuperſtitious old man had the vanity to think, that Heaven A. D. 839. A. D. 840.

11. Nithard. *de Diſſent. Lud. Pii.*

had

PART I. A. D. 840.

had taken the trouble to foretel to mankind the death of a prince whoſe very virtues diſhonoured the throne, and who ſhould never have ſtirred beyond the walls of a cloiſter. He therefore repeatedly received the communion, and ſcarce any other nouriſhment, till his piety fulfilled the prediction which his folly had ſuggeſted [12].

LEWIS died near Mentz, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left a crown, a ſceptre, and a very rich ſword, to Lothario, by which it was ſuppoſed he alſo left him the empire, on condition that he ſhould fulfil his engagements to the empreſs and her ſon Charles. His brother, the biſhop of Mentz, obſerving that he had left nothing to his ſon Lewis, then in arms againſt him, reminded him that forgiveneſs, at leaſt, was his duty. "Yes, I forgive him!" cried the dying monarch with much emotion; "but tell him from me, "to ſeek forgiveneſs alſo of God, for bringing my "grey hairs in ſorrow to the grave [13].

A BAD ſon, my dear Philip, is not likely to make a good brother; for the natural feelings in the ſecond relation are neceſſarily weaker than in the firſt: you muſt therefore expect to ſee the ſons of Lewis the Debonair armed againſt each other. No ſooner was Lothario informed of his father's death, than he conſidered himſelf as emperor in the moſt extenſive ſenſe of the word, and reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the whole imperial dominions, regardleſs of his engagements with Judith and her ſon Charles the Bald, or the right of his brother Lewis to the kingdom of Bavaria. And he ſeemed likely to attain the object

12. *Vit. Lud. Pii. Annal.* Bertiniani. Thegan. *de Geſt. Lud. Pii.*
13. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

of

of his ambition. He was a prince of great ſubtlety and addreſs, could wear the complexion of the times, and was poſſeſſed of an extenſive territory, beſide the title of emperor, which was ſtill much reſpected: he therefore aſſured himſelf of ſucceſs againſt his brothers; Charles being only a youth of ſeventeen, under the tuition of his mother, and Lewis a prince of no high reputation. He was deceived, however, in his conjectures. Theſe two princes, united by a ſenſe of common intereſt, gave him battle at Fontenai, in A.D. 841. Burgundy, where fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors. Few engagements have been ſo bloody. An hundred thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen on the ſpot. Lothario and his nephew Pepin (who had joined him to aſſert his right to the crown of Aquitaine) were totally defeated [14]. Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lothario towards Italy, abandoning France to the victorious army.

NOTHING now remained for Lewis and Charles but to ſecure their conqueſts. For this purpoſe they applied to the clergy; and with hopes ſo much the better founded, that Lothario, in order to raiſe troops with more expedition, had promiſed the Saxons the liberty of renouncing Chriſtianity; or, in other words, liberty of conſcience, a thing held in abhorrence by the church of Rome. Several biſhops aſſembled at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after examining the miſconduct of the emperor, aſked the two princes, whether they choſe to follow his example, or govern according to the laws of God. Their anſwer may eaſily be imagined. "Receive then the kingdom by the divine "authority," added the prelates: "we exhort you, "we command you to receive it [15]!"

14. Nithard. *de Diſſent. Lud. Pii.* 15. Id. ibid. *Annal. Metenſ.*

THIS

PART I. A. D. 842.

THIS command would have taken effect in its moſt extenſive meaning, if Lothario had reſpected it as much as his brothers. But that artful prince, by means of his indulgence to the Saxons, and other political expedients, was enabled to ſet on foot a new army. He became again formidable. The two victorious princes therefore thought it adviſable to negociate with him. By a new treaty of diviſion, he was left in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Italy, with the imperial dignity, and the countries ſituated between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuſe and the Rhine. Charles retained Neuſtria and Aquitaine; and Lewis, afterwards ſtyled the German, had all the provinces on the other ſide of the Rhine, and ſome cities on this ſide of it [16].

THE extinction of the civil war made but one evil leſs in the empire of Charlemagne, ravaged in different parts by the Normans, and by the Saracens, who pillaged Italy. The turbulent independency of the nobles, accuſtomed during the laſt reign to deſpiſe the prince and the laws, the diſcontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both, were the ſource of new troubles. Every thing threatened the moſt fatal revolutions, every thing tended to anarchy.

IN order to leſſen theſe evils, the three brothers entered into an aſſociation, the effect of weakneſs more than affection, by which the enemies of one were to be conſidered as the enemies of all, (ſo low was the empire of the great Charles!) and in an aſ-
A. D. 847. ſembly held at Merſen on the Meuſe, they ſettled certain conſtitutions relative to the ſucceſſion, and other public matters. By theſe it was eſtabliſhed,

16. Nithard. ubi ſup.

That

That the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or under age, ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, and owe nothing to the other princes of the monarchy but the reſpect due to the ties of blood[17]; a regulation well calculated to prevent civil wars, though it proved ineffectual in thoſe diſorderly times. But other conſtitutions of the aſſembly at Merſen tended to enfeeble the royal authority, which had already but too much need of ſupport. They provide, That the crown-vaſſals ſhall no longer be obliged to follow the king, unleſs in general wars, occaſioned by foreign invaſions; and that every free man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe, whether he will be the vaſſal of the king or of a ſubject[18]. The firſt of theſe regulations increaſed the independency of the crown-vaſſals, and the ſecond their power, by augmenting the number of their retainers; for many perſons choſe rather to depend upon ſome neighbouring nobleman, whoſe immediate protection they might claim, (at a time when protection was neceſſary, independent of the laws) than on the ſovereign, whoſe attention they had leſs reaſon to expect, and whoſe aid was more diſtant or doubtful.

LETTER X.

A. D. 847.

LOTHARIO, ſome years after, took the habit of a monk, that, according to the language of thoſe times, he might atone for his crimes; and, though he had lived a tyrant, die a ſaint. In this pious diſguiſe he expired before he had worn it quite a week. He had divided his dominions among his children; and, by virtue of the treaty of Merſen, they quietly ſucceeded to their allotments. Lewis had Italy, with the title of emperor; Lothario the provinces between the Rhone, the Soan, the Meuſe, the Eſcaut, and the

A. D. 855.

17. *Annal.* Bertiniani.

18. *Ibid.*

Rhine,

PART I. A.D. 855. Rhine, called from his own name the kingdom of Lotharingia, and by corruption Lorrain. Charles had Provençe, Dauphiné, and part of Burgundy. He took the title of king of Provençe. One might have imagined there were now kings enough in this monarchy; yet Charles the Bald declared his infant ſon king of Aquitaine [19].

THUS was the empire of Charlemagne ſplit by continual ſubdiviſions, the ſource of perpetual wars, till it became, to uſe the language of Shakſpeare, only "a ſtage to feed contention on." Foreign invaſions conſpired with civil diſſenſions to ſpread terror and diſorder in every quarter; but more eſpecially through the dominions of Charles the Bald, a prince as weak as his father, and reſtleſs as his mother. The Normans carried fire and ſword into the heart of his kingdom; to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, ſon of the laſt king of Aquitaine, joined the invaders, and ravaged that country over which he had been born to reign. Nomenoë, duke of Bretagne, uſurped the title of king, which Charles was obliged to confirm to his ſon Heriſpee, by whom he had been totally defeated. The ſpirit of revolt became every day more general. Some factious nobles invited Lewis the German to uſurp his brother's kingdom. He came at the head of a powerful army, and A.D. 858. received the homage of the principal nobility. Venilon, archbiſhop of Sens, and other prelates of Lewis's party, at the ſame time declared, that Charles had forfeited his dignity by mal-adminiſtration, and crowned his brother the German [20].

CHARLES, however, recovered his kingdom as quickly as he had loſt it. The prelates of his party ex-

19. *Annal. Fuldenſ.* 20. *Annal.* Bertiniani. *Concil. Gal.* tom ii.

communicated

communicated thoſe who had dethroned him, which brought the rebels into contempt, and even abhorrence. Lewis ſent back his army into Germany, that he might not give umbrage to the French, and he was afterwards obliged to take the ſame route himſelf[21]. Charles no ſooner appeared than he was univerſally acknowledged: his reſtoration did not coſt a ſingle blow. The moſt terrible anathemas were now denounced againſt Lewis the German by the French clergy, unleſs he ſubmitted to the rigours of the church, among which were included penance; and he was weak enough to reply, that he muſt firſt conſult the biſhops of his own kingdom[22]. LETTER X. A. D. 858.

THE weakneſs of Charles the Bald was ſtill more extraordinary. Having aſſembled a council to judge the traitor Venilon, he preſented a memorial againſt him, in which is the following ſingular paſſage: "I "ought not to have been *depoſed*; or, at leaſt, not "before I had been *judged* by the *biſhops*, who *gave* "me the *royal authority!* I have always *ſubmitted* to "their *correction*, and am ready now to *ſubmit* to it!" Venilon eſcaped puniſhment, by making his peace with the prince: and the biſhops of the council bound themſelves by a canon to remain united, "for the "*correction* of *kings*, the *nobility*, and the *people*[23]!"

A VARIETY of circumſtances ſhew, that the clergy now aſpired at the right of diſpoſing of crowns, which they founded on the cuſtom of anointing kings. They employed fictions and ſophiſms to render themſelves independent: they refuſed the oath of fealty, "becauſe ſacred hands could not, without abomina"tion, ſubmit to hands impure[24]!" One uſurpation

21. Annal. Bertin. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* 22. Ibid. 23. *Concil. Galat.* tom. ii. 24. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Galic.*

PART I. led to another; abuſe conſtituted right, a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance ſanctified every thing: and we may ſafely conclude from the abject language of Charles, in publicly acknowledging the right of the biſhops to depoſe him, and other examples of a like nature, that the uſurpations of the clergy were, in a great meaſure, occaſioned by the ſlaviſh ſuperſtition of the laity, equally blind, wicked, and devout.

THE zeal of the biſhops to eſtabliſh their independency was favourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Sergius II. the ſucceſſor of Gregory IV. had taken poſſeſſion of the Apoſtolic See, in 884, without the approbation of Lothario, then emperor. Incenſed at ſuch an inſult, Lothario ſent his ſon Lewis to Rome with troops and prelates. The pope having conducted the prince to St. Peter's gate, ſaid to him, "I permit you to enter, if your intentions are good; if "not, I will not ſuffer you to enter!" and the French ſoldiers being guilty of ſome irregularities, he actually ordered the gates to be ſhut. Lothario complained: Sergius was cited to appear before a council; he appeared, and juſtified himſelf in the eye of the prieſthood [25]. Leo IV. celebrated for the courage with which he defended Rome againſt the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected in ſpite of the emperor, both lived in peace with royalty; but Nicholas I. more bold than any of his predeceſſors, made himſelf the judge of kings and of biſhops, and realized the chimera of lying decretals.

A GRAND occaſion offered in France for Nicholas to exerciſe that authority which he attributed to himA. D. 860. ſelf. Lothario, king of Lorrain, divorced his wife

25. *Concil. Gal.* tom. ii. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

Teutberge, falſely accuſed of inceſt. She was cleared by the trial of boiling water, but afterwards convicted by her own confeſſion; if an involuntary acknowledgment, the effect of violence and fear, can be called conviction. A council held at Aix-la-Chapelle authorized Lothario to eſpouſe Waldrade, a young lady whom he had ſeduced. The guilty parties were equally deſirous of this marriage; a criminal amour had drawn them to the brink of diſhonour. The ſcandal was horrible! Nicholas laid hold of the affair, and attempted to force the king to take back his firſt wife. For this purpoſe he ordered the biſhops to hold a council at Metz, along with his legates, and there to cite and judge Lothario. They confirmed the divorce; contrary to the expectations of the pontiff; a decree which ſo much enraged him, that he depoſed the biſhops of Treves and Cologne, who had been appointed to preſent to him the acts of the council. Theſe biſhops complained to the emperor Lewis II. He went immediately to Rome; diſplayed his authority, and ſeemed determined to repreſs the papal power. But he fell ill: a ſuperſtitious fear ſeized him; and he retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who became ſtill more imperious. Lothario humbled himſelf in vain before the haughty pontiff; though he went ſo far as to offer to come and juſtify himſelf in perſon. The pope inſiſted, that Waldrade ſhould firſt be diſmiſſed; and a legate threatened the king with immediate excommunication, if he continued in diſobedience. Lothario, intimidated, now ſubmitted: he recalled Teutberge, and even conſented that the legate ſhould lead Waldrade in triumph to Rome. She ſet out on that mortifying journey, but eſcaped by the way; and, in a ſhort time, reſumed her place both as miſtreſs and queen. Meanwhile the unfortunate Teutberge, ſink-

LETTER X.

A. D. 862.

A. D. 863.

PART I. ing beneath the weight of perſecution and neglect, at laſt deſired to be ſeparated from Lothario, proteſting that her marriage was void, and that Waldrade's was legitimate. But nothing could move the inflexible Nicholas: he continued obſtinate[26].

We may conſider this pope as the foreruner of Gregory VII. and, in the ſame circumſtances, he would likely have carried his ambition to the ſame height. The biſhops of Treves and Cologne accuſed him, in an invective, of making himſelf *emperor* of the whole world; and that expreſſion, though ſomewhat ſtrained, was not altogether without foundation. He aſſerted his dominion over the French clergy, by reeſtabliſhing Rothade of Soiſſons, depoſed by a provincial council; and he received appeals from all eccleſiaſtics diſſatisfied with their biſhops. By theſe means he accuſtomed the people to acknowledge a ſupreme tribunal, at a diſtance from their own country, and conſequently a foreign ſway. He gave orders for the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Provence, which Charles the Bald diſputed with the emperor Lewis, brother to the deceaſed king. "Let nobody hinder the emperor," ſays he, in a letter on that ſubject, "to govern the kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a ſucceſſion confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown which the ſovereign pontiff has ſet upon his head[27]."

Nicholas died in 867; but his principles had taken ſuch deep root, that Adrian II. his ſucceſſor, though more moderate, and deſirous of peace, thought his condeſcenſion great in permitting Lothario to

26. Hincmar, de *Divort. Lothar. et Theutberg.*
27. *Epiſt. Nicol. Pap.*

come

come to Rome, in order to juſtify himſelf, or do penance. Charles the Bald, and Lewis the German, waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, perſuaded that they ſhould then have a right to ſeize his dominions. Thus the blind ambition of princes favoured the exerciſe of a power, which they ought to have foreſeen might be turned againſt themſelves; which afterwards became the ſcourge of royalty, and made every crowned head tremble.

LOTHARIO, while at Rome, employed all poſſible means to ſoften the pope: he received the communion from his hand, after having ſworn he never had any criminal commerce with Waldrade, ſince the prohibition of Nicholas, nor ever would have any in future[28]. He died at Placentia, in his way home. This accident was conſidered as a juſt vengeance; as a mark of the divine diſpleaſure againſt perjury, and rendered the proof by the euchariſt ſtill more important.

THE emperor Lewis II. brother of Lothario, ought legally to have ſucceeded to his dominions; but he being at that time employed in expelling the Saracens, who had plundered Italy, and conſequently not in a condition to aſſert his right by arms, Charles the Bald laid hold of the ſucceſſion, and retained it notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the pope. "The *arms* "which God has put into our hand," writ Adrian, "are prepared for his defence[29]!" Charles was more afraid of the arms of his brother the German, with whom he found it neceſſary to ſhare the kingdom, though the nobility and clergy of Lorrain had voluntarily ſubmitted to him.

28. Adon. *Chron. Lotharii Reg. Geſt. Rom.* 29. *Epiſt. Adrian.*

THE

PART I. THE pope ſtill continued his remonſtrances in favour of the emperor, hoping at leaſt to obtain ſomething for him; but they were diſregarded by the French monarch, who had now thrown off much of his piety, and anſwered in a ſpirited manner by the famous Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims. This bold and independent prelate deſired the pope to call to mind, that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which the ancient pontiffs had always paid to princes: he bid him know that his dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the ſame time pope and king; that the choice of ſovereigns belongs to the people; that anathemas ill applied have no effect upon the ſoul; and that *free* men are not to be enſlaved by a biſhop of Rome [30].

ADRIAN affected to deſpiſe theſe arguments, and continued for ſome time his menaces, both againſt Hincmar and the king; but, finding them ineffectual, he changed his tone, and wrote ſeveral flattering letters to Charles, promiſing him the empire on the death of his nephew, then in a languiſhing condition. This project in favour of the French monarch was executed under John VIII. Adrian's ſucceſſor. The
A. D. 875. emperor Lewis II. died without male heirs. Lewis the German claimed the ſucceſſion, and the imperial dignity, as the elder brother of Charles: but the pope preferred the claim of Charles for political reaſons; which, with the court of Rome, never fail to take place of equity. Lewis ſeemed faſt approaching to his end, and had three ſons, among whom his dominions muſt be divided. Charles was a younger man, and had only one ſon; he therefore appeared the moſt proper perſon to chuſe as a protector. He croſſed the Alps at the head of his army, and accordingly re-

30. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

ceived

LETTER X.

ceived the imperial crown as a *preſent* from the pope; but much in the ſame manner that many preſents of the like kind are obtained in our days, by paying roundly for it. In an aſſembly at Pavia, the biſhops, abbots, and Italian nobles, recognized him in the following words: "Since the divine favour, through the "merits of the holy apoſtles, and of their vicar pope "John, has raiſed you to the empire, according to "the judgment of the Holy Ghoſt, we elect you una- "nimouſly for our protector and lord [31]." A. D. 876

On the death of Lewis the German, a prince of conſiderable abilities both as a warrior and politician, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, attempted to ſeize that part of Lorrain which he had granted to his brother, and was deſervedly defeated [32]. His three nephews, Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, preſerved their poſſeſſions by maintaining a ſtrict union among themſelves. The firſt had Bavaria, the ſecond Saxony, and the third Suabia.

About this time the Saracens renewed their ravages in Italy. They took and plundered Comachio. Pope John had recourſe to the emperor; and deſired him "to remember the hand that had given him the "empire; leſt," added he, "if driven to deſpair, "we ſhould change our opinion!" That menace, ſufficiently intelligible, had its effect. Though France was then over-run by the Normans, whom Charles was unable to reſiſt, he undertook to expel the Saracens; and he was ſcarce arrived in Italy, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, had advanced againſt him, with an intention to ſeize the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's will, and the right A. D. 877

31. Ibid. 32. *Annal. Fuldenſ.*

PART I. A. D. 877.

of primogeniture. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation: fell ill, and died in a miſerable cottage, at a village called Brios, in the fifty-fourth year of his age [33].

A CAPITULAR in the laſt year of Charles's reign, permits the nobility to tranſmit their employments to their ſons, or other male heirs [34]. This privilege, extorted from the crown, as I have already obſerved [35], was one of the principal ſources of diſorder in the feudal government; and tended, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, to the abolition of all political ſubjection. In the mean time I muſt ſpeak of a people, who deſerve your attention, no leſs on account of their manners than their warlike achievements.

LETTER XI.

The NORMANS *or* DANES, *before their Settlement in* FRANCE *and* ENGLAND.

LETTER XI.

THE braveſt and moſt liberal minded of the Saxons, my dear Philip, on the final reduction of their country by Charlemagne, fled from the dominion and perſecutions of the conqueror into the ancient Scandinavia, or that of the northern peninſula of Europe which comprehends the preſent kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; carrying with them, as already obſerved [1], their vengeance and violent averſion againſt Chriſtianity. There meeting with a people of ſimilar manners, and of the ſame religion, they were cordially received, and ſoon ſtimulated the natives to

33. Sigon. de *Reg. Ital. Annal.* Bertiniani. 34. *Capit Caroli Calvi.*
35. Letter II. 1. Letter IX.

new

new enterprises; which at once promised revenge to the fugitives, and subsistence to the inhabitants of countries then overstocked. In their different incursions on the continent, they were known by the general name of Normans, from their northern situation; and in their attacks upon Britain, by the name of Danes, to whatever country they might belong. They became the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe. But before I speak of their depredations, I must say a few words of their religion and manners.

THE manners of a people, and their popular superstition, depend mutually on each other. Religion takes its complexion originally from the manners: men form a deity according to their own ideas, their prejudices, their passions; and the manners are, in a great measure, continued or altered by the religion, if calculated, like most popular creeds, to affect the imagination. The religion of the ancient Scandinavians was highly so, and was preserved entire among the Normans, who also retained their unadulterated manners. They were worthy of each other; equally bloody and barbarous, but formed to inspire the most enthusiastic courage, and the most unremitted perseverance in toil. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their supreme divinity. They painted him as the God of *terror*; the Author of *devastation*; the Father of *carnage!*—and they worshipped him accordingly. They sacrificed human victims to him: they believed those would stand highest in his favour who had killed most warriors in the field; that, after death, the brave would be admitted into his palace, and have the happiness of there driking beer, their favourite liquor, out of the skulls of their enemies [2].

IN

2. See the *Edda*, or System of *Runic Mythology*. In this state of constant festivity, the warriors were served at table by beautiful virgins called

PART I.

In conſequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and dangers, were the exerciſe of infancy, and the ſport of youth. They were forbid to pronounce the word fear, even on the moſt perilous occaſions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to ſubdue in them the ſenſation of timidity. They not only died with reſolution, but ſometimes even with ſigns of joy. "Our warriors," ſays one of their poets, "greedy of death, ſeek it "with fury: when ſtruck in battle by a mortal blow, "they fall chearfully, and laughing die[3]!" They wanted only military diſcipline to have enſlaved the whole Chriſtian world, then ſinking under the weight of a debaſing ſuperſtition, and cringing beneath the rod of prieſtly tyranny.

Though Charlemagne, as I have had occaſion to notice, took many wiſe precautions againſt the Normans, he was not able entirely to prevent their irruptions, and was only freed by the death of their leader from a dangerous competition. Under Lewis the Debonair, they threw all France into alarm; and under Charles the Bald, they committed frightful devaſtations. Their fleets, compoſed of light barques, braved the ſtorms of the ocean, and penetrated every where. They ſometimes landed on the coaſt, and ſometimes in the interior parts of the country, by means of the navigable rivers. The government took no effectual meaſures againſt them, and the unprotected people knew nothing but fear. Fire and

called Valkyr, who miniſtered to other pleaſures beſide thoſe of the feaſt. (*Edda Mythol.* xxxi.) And war and arms, the delight of the Scandinavians in this life, continued to be their amuſement in another world. *Edda Mythol.* xxxv.

3. Regn. Lodbrog. "The battle is as pleaſing to me," ſays Lodbrog, (who was a king and a warrior as well as a poet) "as the bed "of a virgin in the glow of her charms, or the kiſs of a young widow "in her moſt ſecret apartment." *Epiced.* Stroph. xiv.

ſword

ſword, on all hands, marked the route of the ravagers. With their booty they carried off women, to whom they were much addicted, and boys to ſupply their loſs of men. They were no ſooner gone, than they again returned. They pillaged Rouen twice; they ſurpriſed and burnt Paris; they laid waſte Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the French king to the greateſt extremities [4]. Shut up at St. Denis, while his capital was in flames, Charles the Bald was leſs anxious about ſaving his people than the reliques. Inſtead of encountering the enemy, he bought a peace; or, in other words, he furniſhed the Normans with the means, while he inſpired them with the motive of a new war. They returned accordingly; and Charles, to complete his diſgrace, when going to aſſiſt the pope in the laſt year of his reign, publiſhed a capitular to regulate the contributions to be paid to the Normans [5]. A.D. 845. A.D. 877.

ENGLAND alſo experienced a variety of calamities from the incurſions of theſe plunderers, until it found a protector in the great Alfred. But before I proceed to the reign of that illuſtrious prince, we muſt take a view of the adminiſtration of his predeceſſors from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

4. *Ver. Chron. Hiſt. Norm.* 5. *Capit. Caroli Calvi.*

LETTER XII.

ENGLAND, *from the End of the* SAXON HEPTARCHY, *to the Death of* ALFRED *the* GREAT.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 827.

EGBERT, the firſt ſole monarch of England, was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a conſiderable command in the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much reſpected, and had acted ſucceſsfully againſt the Normans, and other enemies of the empire. After his return to Britain, he was engaged in a variety of ſtruggles, before he obtained the ſupreme dominion; but having ſurmounted thoſe difficulties, he found himſelf without a rival. Being the only remaining deſcendant of Hengiſt and Horſa, the firſt Saxon leaders who landed in this iſland, and who were ſuppoſed to be ſprung from Woden, the chief divinity of the ancient Saxons, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince who appeared to merit it equally by his birth and talents; ſo that Egbert was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of England, than the ſeven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were ſtrongly cemented into one ſtate. An union of government ſeemed to promiſe internal tranquillity; and the Saxons, from their inſular ſituation, and their power, had little reaſon to be afraid of foreign enemies. The Britons were humbled; and the Scots and Piets, waſted by continual wars with each other, being in no condition to moleſt Egbert, he flattered himſelf with peace and ſecurity. But human foreſight is very limited: a fleet of thoſe northern adventurers whom we have already ſeen ravaging France, under the name of Normans, ſoon gave the Engliſh monarch reaſon to alter his opinion. They firſt landed in the iſle of Shepey, pillaged it, and carried off their booty with impunity,

impunity. They returned next year in thirty-five ſhips. Egbert gave them battle at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire; where they were worſted, after an obſtinate diſpute, but made good their retreat to their ſhips. Now ſenſible what an enemy they had to deal with, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwal; and, landing in that country, their confederates and they made an irruption into the county of Devon. They were met by Egbert at Hengeſdown, and totally defeated[1]. But whilſt England was threatened with new alarms from the ſame quarter, this warlike monarch, who alone was able to oppoſe the invaders, unfortunately died, and left the kingdom to his ſon Ethelwolf, a prince better fitted to wear the cowl than the crown. LETTER XII. A. D. 832. A. D. 835. A. D. 838.

ETHELWOLF began his reign with dividing his dominions, according to the abſurd cuſtom of thoſe times; delivering over to his eldeſt ſon, Athelſtan, the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. But no inconveniencies ſeem to have ariſen from this partition, the terror of the Daniſh invaders preventing all domeſtic diſſenſions. Time proved that this terror was but too juſt. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and, though often repulſed, and ſometimes defeated, they always obtained their end, by committing plunder, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not ſuited to their plan of operations. Their veſſels being ſmall, ran eaſily up the creeks and rivers: they drew them aſhore, and formed an entrenchment around them, leaving them under a guard. They ſcattered themſelves over the face of the country in ſmall parties, making ſpoil of every thing that came in their way; goods, cattle, and wo-

1. *Chron. Sax.*

men.

PART I. men. If oppoſed by a ſuperior force, they betook themſelves to their veſſels; ſet ſail, and invaded ſome diſtant quarter, not prepared for their reception. All England was kept in continual alarm: nor durſt the inhabitants of one part go to the aſſiſtance of another, leſt their own families and poſſeſſions ſhould be expoſed to the fury of the ravagers [2]. Every ſeaſon of the year was alike: no man could compute on a moment's ſafety.

ENCOURAGED by their paſt ſucceſſes, the Danes at
A. D. 851. length landed in ſo large a body as ſeemed to threaten the whole iſland with ſubjection. But the Anglo-Saxons, though labouring under the weight of ſuperſtition, were ſtill a gallant people: they rouſed themſelves with a vigour proportioned to the neceſſity, and defeated their invaders in ſeveral engagements [3]. The Danes however ventured, for the firſt time, to take up their winter quarters in England; and re-
A. D. 852. ceiving in the ſpring a ſtrong reinforcement, by three hundred and fifty veſſels, they advanced from the iſle of Thanet, where they had ſtationed themſelves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. They were again defeated in ſeveral engagements; yet they ſtill maintained their ſettlement in the iſle of Thanet, and ſpent next winter in the iſle of Shepey.

THE harraſſed ſtate of his kingdom did not hinder
A. D. 854. Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome. Thither he carried Alfred, his fourth and favourite ſon, then only ſix years of age. In his return, after a twelvemonth ſpent in devotions and benefactions to the ſee of Rome, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald; and, ſoon after

2. Alured Beverl. 3. *Chron. Sax.*

his

his arrival in England, he conferred a perpetual and very important donation on the church, by granting to the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of land. This enormous tax upon induſtry had been long claimed by the ſervants of the altar, as a perpetual property belonging to the prieſthood; a jargon founded on the practice of the Jews. Charlemagne had ordered the tythe to be paid in conſideration of the church-lands ſeized by the laity; but, in England, no ſuch invaſion had been made. The church enjoyed many lands, and was enriched by the continual oblations of the people; the Engliſh clergy, therefore, had not hitherto been able to obtain their demand. But a favourable opportunity now offered, and religion furniſhed the motive; a weak and ſuperſtitious prince, and an ignorant people dejected by their loſſes, and in terror of future invaſions, greedily laid hold of any means, however coſtly, of bribing the protection of Heaven[4]. LETTER XII. A. D. 856.

DURING the abſence of Ethelwolf, his eldeſt ſon Athelſtan died; and Ethelbald, the ſecond ſon, had formed the project of excluding his father from the throne. This unnatural attempt gave the pious monarch little concern. He complied with moſt of his ſon's demands, and the kingdom was divided between them. Ethelwolf lived only two years after his return to England, which he left by his will to be ſhared between his two eldeſt ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert. A. D. 857.

ETHELBALD was a profligate prince, but his reign was happily ſhort; and Ethelbert, ſucceeding to the government of the whole kingdom, conducted him- A. D. 860.

4. Selden, *Hiſt. Tyth.* cap. viii.

ſelf,

PART I. ſelf, during a reign of five years, in a manner more ſuitable to his rank. England was ſtill infeſted by the depredations of Danes; who, in this reign, ſacked Wincheſter, but were there defeated.

A. D. 866. ETHELBERT was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelred, whoſe whole reign was one continued ſtruggle with the Danes. He defended his kingdom with much bravery, and was gallantly ſeconded in all his efforts by his younger brother Alfred; who, though excluded from a large inheritance left him by his father, generouſly ſacrificed his reſentment to the pub-
A. D. 872. lic good. Ethelred died in the midſt of theſe troubles, and left his diſordered kingdom to his brother Alfred.

ALFRED was now twenty years of age, and a prince of very promiſing talents. He had no ſooner buried his brother than he was obliged to take the field againſt the Danes. They had ſeized Wilton, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. He gave them battle, and at firſt gained ſome advantage over them; but, purſuing his victory too far, he was worſted by means of the enemy's numbers. The loſs of the Danes, however, was ſo conſiderable that, fearing Alfred might ſuddenly receive reinforcements from his ſubjects, they ſtipulated for a ſafe retreat, under a promiſe to depart the kingdom. But they were no ſooner freed from danger than they renewed their ravages. A new ſwarm of Danes landed under
A. D. 875. three principal leaders; and Alfred, in one year, fought eight battles with theſe faithleſs and inhuman invaders, and reduced them to the greateſt extremity. But this generous prince again condeſcending to treat with them, was again deceived. While he was expecting the execution of the agreement, a third

third ſwarm landed from the northern hive, and reduced the Saxons to deſpair. They believed themſelves abandoned by Heaven, and devoted to deſtruction; ſince, after all their vigorous efforts, freſh invaders ſtill poured in upon them, as greedy of ſpoil and ſlaughter as the former. Some left their country, others ſubmitted to the conquerors, but none would liſten to the exhortations of Alfred; who, ſtill undiſmayed, begged them to make one exertion more in defence of their poſſeſſions, their liberties, and their prince 5. A. D. 875.

THUS abandoned by his ſubjects, this illuſtrious monarch was obliged to lay aſide the enſigns of his dignity, and aſſume the habit of a peaſant. In that mean diſguiſe he eluded the purſuit and the fury of his enemies; and, in order to ſave his country, he even condeſcended to live for ſome time as ſervant to a grazier. But the human mind is as little ſuited to employments beneath, as above its capacity: the great Alfred made a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares; and, as ſoon as he found the ſearch of his enemies become more remiſs, he collected ſome of his adherents, and retired into the middle of a moraſs, formed by the ſtagnating waters of the Thone and Parret; where finding ſome firm ground, he built and fortified a caſtle, no leſs ſecure by its own ſtrength than by its remote and inacceſſible ſituation. This place is called Æthelingey, or the Iſle of Nobles. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here, during a twelvemonth, Alfred lay concealed, but not inactive: he made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, or by whom it was directed. At length

5. *Chron. Sax.* Alured Beverl.

PART I. A. D. 880.

a proſperous event emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a ſcene of action more worthy of himſelf.

ODDUNE, earl of Devonſhire, being beſieged in his caſtle by Hubba, a celebrated Daniſh general, made an unexpected ſally upon the enemy, put them to rout, and purſued them with great ſlaughter; killed Hubba himſelf, and got poſſeſſion of the famous *Reafen*, or Raven, an enchanted ſtandard, in which the Danes put great confidence [6]. The news of this victory were immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the ſeeds of valour beginning to revive among his ſubjects; but, before he would aſſemble them in arms, he reſolved to inſpect the ſituation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of ſucceſs, as an unfortunate attempt in the preſent ſtate of national deſpondency muſt have terminated in final ruin. In conſequence of this reſolution, he entered the Daniſh camp under the diſguiſe of a harper, and paſſed unſuſpected through every quarter. He obſerved the ſupine ſecurity of the ravagers, their contempt of the Engliſh, and their neglect of all military regulations. Encouraged by theſe propitious appearances, he ſent ſecret intelligence to his moſt powerful ſubjects, and ſummoned them to aſſemble, along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood foreſt [7]. The Engliſh, who inſtead of ending their calamities by ſubmiſſion, as they fondly hoped, had found the inſolence and rapine of the conquerors more intolerable than the dangers and fatigues of war, joyfully reſorted to the place of rendezvous. They ſaluted their beloved monarch with burſts of applauſe; they could not ſatiate their eyes with the ſight of a prince whom they

6. *Chron. Sax.* Abbas Rieval.

7. Gul. Malmſ. lib. ii.

had

had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer: they begged to be led to liberty and vengeance. Alfred did not ſuffer their ardour to cool: he conducted them inſtantly to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's ſituation, he directed his attack againſt their moſt unguarded quarter. Surpriſed to ſee an army of Engliſhmen, whom they conſidered as totally ſubdued, and ſtill more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made but a feeble reſiſtance, notwithſtanding their ſuperior numbers[8]. They were ſoon put to flight, and routed with great ſlaughter.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 880.

ALFRED, no leſs generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Daniſh army, and their prince Guthrum, under his protection. He granted them their lives on ſubmiſſion, and liberty to ſettle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia, (which were entirely deſolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen) on condition that they ſhould embrace Chriſtianity. They conſented, and were baptiſed. The king ſtood god-father for Guthrum[9].

THIS mode of population fully anſwered Alfred's expectations. The greater part of the Danes ſettled peaceably in their new poſſeſſions; and the more turbulent made an expedition into France, under their famous leader Haſtings, who afterwards invaded England, but was expelled by the valour and vigilance of Alfred[10].

8. *Chron. Sax.* Simon Dunelm. Allured Beverl. 9. Ibid.
10. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

In the mean time this great prince was employed in eſtabliſhing civil and military inſtitutions; in compoſing the minds of men to induſtry and juſtice, and in providing againſt the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he eſtabliſhed a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his ſubjects ſhould be armed and regiſtered, and aſſigned them a regular round of duty: he diſtributed one part into the caſtles and fortreſſes, which he erected at proper places; he appointed another to take the field on any alarm, and aſſemble at ſtated places of rendezvous; and he left a ſufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the lands, and afterwards took their turn in military ſervice. The whole kingdom was like one great garriſon: the Danes could no ſooner land in any quarter, than a ſufficient force was ready to oppoſe them, and that without leaving the other parts naked or defenceleſs [11].

But Alfred did not truſt ſolely to his land forces. He may be conſidered as the Creator of the Engliſh navy, as well as the Eſtabliſher of the monarchy. Senſible that ſhips are the moſt natural bulwark of an iſland, a circumſtance hitherto entirely overlooked by the Saxons or Engliſh, as they began now to be generally called, he provided himſelf with a naval force, and met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of an hundred and twenty armed veſſels was ſtationed upon the coaſt; and being provided with warlike engines, and expert ſeamen, both Friſians and Engliſh, maintained a ſuperiority over the enemy, and gave

11. Spelman's *Life of Alfred.*

birth

birth to that claim, which England ſtill ſupports, to the ſovereignty of the ocean [12]. LETTER XII.

In this manner did Alfred provide for the ſecurity of his kingdom; and the excellent poſture of defence every where eſtabliſhed, together with the wiſdom and valour of the prince, at length reſtored peace and tranquillity to England, and communicated to it a conſequence hitherto unknown in the monarchy. But I ſhould convey to you, my dear Philip, a very imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were I to confine myſelf merely to his military and political talents. His judicial inſtitutions, and his zeal for the encouragement of arts and ſciences, demand your particular attention. We muſt now, therefore, conſider him in a character altogether civil; as the Father of Engliſh law and Engliſh literature.

Though Alfred, in the early part of his reign, had ſubdued, ſettled, or expelled the Danes, as a body, ſtraggling bands of that people afterwards continued to infeſt the kingdom with their robberies; and even the native Engliſh, reduced to extreme indigence by theſe and former depredations, abandoned themſelves to a like diſorderly life. They joined the robbers in pillaging the more wealthy part of their fellow-citizens. Thoſe evils required redreſs, and Alfred took means effectually to remove them. In order to render the execution of juſtice more ſtrict and regular, he divided all England into counties; theſe counties he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Every houſholder was anſwerable for the behaviour of his family, of his ſlaves, and even of his gueſts, if they reſided above three

12. Id. ibid. M. Weſtm.

PART I.

days in his houſe. Ten neighbouring houſholders, anſwerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tything, decennary, or fribourg, over which a perſon called a tything-man, headbourg, or borſholder preſided. Every man was puniſhed as an outlaw, who did not regiſter himſelf in ſome tything; and no man could change his habitation, without a warrant and certificate from the borſholder of the tything to which he formerly belonged [15].

THESE regulations may ſeem rigorous, and are not perhaps neceſſary in times when men are habituated to obedience and juſtice. But they were well calculated to reduce a fierce and licentious people under the ſalutary reſtraints of law and government; and Alfred took care to temper their ſeverity by other inſtitutions favourable to the freedom and ſecurity of the ſubject. Nothing can be more liberal than his plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice. The borſholder ſummoned his whole decennary to aſſiſt him in the deciſion of ſmaller differences among the members of the corporation: in controverſies of greater moment, the diſpute was brought before the hundred, which conſiſted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and was regularly aſſembled once in four weeks, for the trying of cauſes [16]. Their mode of deciſion claims your attention: twelve freeholders were choſen; who having ſworn along with the magiſtrate of the hundred to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to the examination of the cauſe that was ſubmitted to them. In this ſimple form of trial you will perceive the origin of juries, or judgment by equals, an inſtitution now almoſt peculiar to the Engliſh nation; admirable in itſelf, and the beſt cal-

15. *Fœdus Alfred, et Gothurn.* cap. iii. ap. Wilkins.
16. Id. ibid.

culated

culated for the preſervation of man's natural rights, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, that human wiſdom ever deviſed [17].

BESIDE theſe monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for the more general inſpection of the police of the diſtrict; inquiring into crimes, correcting abuſes in magiſtrates, and obliging every perſon to ſhew the decennary in which he was regiſtered. In imitation of their anceſtors the ancient Germans, the people on thoſe occaſions aſſembled in arms; whence a hundred was ſometimes called a Wapentake, and its court ſerved for the ſupport of military diſcipline, as well as the adminiſtration of juſtice [18].

THE next ſuperior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a-year, and conſiſted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the deciſion of cauſes; but of this court I have already ſpoke in treating of the laws and government of the Saxons. I ſhall therefore only add here, That to the alderman and biſhop Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of Sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the two former [19]. His office alſo impowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the county, and levy the fines impoſed; which, in an age when money atoned for almoſt every violation of the laws of ſociety, formed no inconſiderable branch of the public revenue.

17. Trial by jury was known to the Saxons, at leaſt in criminal caſes, before their ſettlement in Britain. But, among the nations on the continent, it was not neceſſary that the members of a jury ſhould be unanimous in their deciſion: a majority of voices was ſufficient to acquit or condemn the perſon accuſed. Stiernhook *de Jure Sueon. et Gothor. Vetuſt.* lib. i.

18. Spelm. *Gloſſ.* in voc. *Wapentake.*

19. Ingulph.

In default of juſtice from all theſe courts, an appeal lay to the king himſelf in council; and as the wiſdom and juſtice of Alfred were univerſally revered, he was ſoon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of his dominions. In order to remedy this inconvenience, he choſe the earls and ſheriffs from among the men moſt celebrated for probity and knowledge in the kingdom: he puniſhed ſeverely all malverſation in office; he removed all whom he found unequal to the truſt [20]; and, the better to guide magiſtrates of all kinds in the adminiſtration of juſtice, he framed a body of laws; which, though now loſt, ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſprudence, and is generally eſteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

A. D. 890.

ALFRED appointed regular meetings of the ſtates of England twice a-year in the city of London, which he himſelf had repaired and beautified, and which thenceforth became the capital of the kingdom. Every thing ſoon wore a new face under his wiſe and equitable government. Such ſucceſs attended his legiſlation, and ſo exact was the general police, that he is ſaid to have hung up, by way of trial, golden bracelets near the high roads, and no man dared to touch them [21]. But this great prince, though rigorous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he wiſely conſidered as the beſt means of repreſſing crimes, preſerved the moſt ſacred regard to the liberty of his people. His concern on this ſubject extended even to future times, and ought to endear his memory to every Engliſhman. "It is juſt," ſays he in his will, "that the Engliſh ſhould for ever remain FREE AS "THEIR OWN THOUGHTS [22].

20. *Le Miroir de Juſtice*, chap. ii. 21. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.
22. Aſſer. p. 24.

AFTER

AFTER providing for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and taming his ſubjects to the reſtraints of law, Alfred extended his care to thoſe things which aggrandize a nation, and make a people happy. Senſible that good morals and knowledge are almoſt inſeparable in every age, though not in every individual, he gave great encouragement to the purſuit of learning. He invited over the moſt celebrated ſcholars from all parts of Europe: he eſtabliſhed ſchools every where for the inſtruction of the ignorant: he founded, or at leaſt repaired, the univerſity of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities: he enjoined by law all freeholders, poſſeſſed of two hides of land, to ſend their children to ſchool; and he gave preferment, either in church or ſtate, to ſuch only as had made ſome proficiency in knowledge [23]. But the moſt effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the progreſs which he made in ſcience. Notwithſtanding the multiplicity of civil objects which engaged his attention, and although he fought in perſon fifty-ſix battles by ſea and land, this illuſtrious hero and legiſlator was able to acquire by his unremitted induſtry, during a life of no extraordinary length, more knowledge, and even to produce more books, than moſt ſpeculative men, in more fortunate ages, who have devoted their whole time to ſtudy. He compoſed a variety of poems, fables, and apt ſtories, to lead the untutored mind to the love of letters, and bend the heart to the practice of virtue. For the ſame purpoſe he tranſlated from the Greek the inſtructive fables of Æſop. He alſo gave Saxon tranſlations of the hiſtories of Oroſius and

23. H. Hunt. lib. vi. A hide contained land *ſufficient to employ* one plough. Gervaſe of Tilbury ſays it commonly conſiſted of an hundred acres.

Bede,

Bede, and of the Conſolation of Philoſophy, by Boetius [24].

ALFRED was no leſs attentive to the propagation of thoſe mechanical arts, which have a more ſenſible, though not a more intimate connexion with the welfare of a ſtate. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and ſuffered no inventor or improver of any uſeful or ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and induſtry to apply themſelves to navigation, and to puſh commerce into the moſt diſtant countries; and he ſet apart a ſeventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and caſtles. The elegancies of life are ſaid to have been brought to him, even from the Mediterranean and the Indies [25]; and his ſubjects ſeeing theſe deſirable productions, and the means of acquiring riches by trade, were taught to reſpect thoſe peaceful virtues by which alone ſuch bleſſings can be earned or inſured.

THIS extraordinary man, who is juſtly conſidered, both by natives and foreigners, as the greateſt prince after Charlemagne that Europe ſaw for ſeveral ages, and as one of the wiſeſt and beſt that ever adorned the annals of any nation, died in the year 901, in the vigour of his age, and the full ſtrength of his faculties, after a life of fifty-three years, and a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half. His merit, both in public and private life, may be ſet in oppoſition to that of any ſovereign or citizen in ancient or modern times. He ſeems indeed, as is obſerved by an elegant and profound hiſtorian [26], to

A. D. 901.

24. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. 25. Id. ibid. 26. Hume, vol. i.

be

be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a ſage, or truly wiſe man, philoſophers have been ſo fond of delineating without the hopes of ever ſeeing it realized. LETTER XII.

LETTER XIII.

The EMPIRE *of* CHARLEMAGNE *and the* CHURCH, *from the Death of* CHARLES *the* BALD, *to the Death of* LEWIS IV. *when the* IMPERIAL DIGNITY *was tranſlated from the* FRENCH *to the* GERMANS.

THE continent of Europe, my dear Philip, toward the cloſe of the ninth century, offers nothing to our view but calamities, diſorders, revolutions, and anarchy. Lewis the Stammerer, ſon of Charles the Bald, may be ſaid to have bought the crown at the price, and on the conditions, which the biſhops and nobles were pleaſed to impoſe on him. He was not acknowledged till after he had heaped lands, honours, and offices on the nobility; and promiſed that the clergy ſhould enjoy the ſame emoluments, and the ſame privileges, which they had poſſeſſed under Lewis the Debonair [1]. LETTER XIII. A.D. 877.

POPE John VIII. made an effort to get Lewis elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian ſtates; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the duke of Spoleto, and the marquis of Tuſcany, for oppoſing his meaſures, and attacking the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. One of the canons of this council is very remarkable: it expreſsly bears, that "the *powers of the world* ſhall not dare to

1. Aimon. lib. v.

"ſeat

PART I. "ſeat themſelves in the preſence of biſhops, unleſs "deſired[2]!"

A.D. 879. LEWIS the Stammerer died in 879, after a reign of about eighteen months, and left his queen Adelaide pregnant. He was ſucceeded by Lewis III. and Carloman II. two ſons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boſon, father-in-law to Carloman, procured them the crown, that he might afterwards ſhare the monarchy. By his intrigues with the pope and the clergy, he got a council to declare the neceſſity of erecting a new kingdom: and they beſtowed by the divine inſpiration, to uſe their own language, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, upon this ambitious duke[3]. Italy was in the poſſeſſion of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had alſo ſeized part of Lorrain, and the French nobility already enjoyed moſt of the lands; ſo that a king of France retained little more than the mere ſhadow of royalty.

ON the death of Lewis and Carloman, the joint kings of France, who lived in harmony notwithſtanding their confined ſituation, their brother Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have ſucceeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth; but as he was only five years old, and the nobility were deſirous of a king capable of governing, or at leaſt were afraid of the advancement of Hugh, ſurnamed the Abbot, to the regency (a nobleman of great integrity and abilities),
A. D. 883. they elected Charles the Fat, ſon of Lewis the German, already emperor, and ſucceſſor to his two brothers[4]. He reunited in his perſon all the French empire, except the kingdom of the uſurper Boſon; and proved, what thoſe who elected him had not ſuffi-

2. Concil. Gall. tom. iii. 3. Id. ibid. 4. Aimon. lib. v.

ciently

ciently attended to, if they meant the welfare of the state, That a prince may conduct his affairs with judgment, while confined within a moderate compaſs, and yet be very unfit for the government of a great empire. A. D. 883.

THE incapacity, and even the cowardice of Charles, became ſoon too obvious to be denied. Though he had governed his paternal dominions without any viſible defect of judgment, and raiſed himſelf to the empire by his reputation and addreſs, his mind, inſtead of expanding itſelf to its new object, even ſhrunk from it, and contracted itſelf, till every mark of abilities diſappeared. After diſgracing himſelf by ceding Friezland to the Normans, and promiſing them a tribute for forbearance, he rouſed them by his perfidy, while he encouraged them by his weakneſs. Enraged at the death of their king, who had been invited to a conference and murdered, they entered France; penetrated as far as Pontoiſe, burnt that city, and beſieged Paris [5].

THIS ſiege is much celebrated by the French hiſtorians: prodigies are related of both ſides. Eudes, count of Paris, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee on the throne of France; his brother Robert; biſhop Goſlin; and after his death, biſhop Anſcheric, and abbot Ebſe, nephew to Goſlin, were particularly diſtinguiſhed by their valour and patriotiſm. The beſieged defended themſelves more than a year againſt an army of thirty thouſand men, and the combined efforts of courage and ſtratagem, before the emperor came to their relief. At length Charles appeared on the mountain of Montmart, with the whole militia of his dominions under arms, fully perſuaded that the Normans would retire at the ſight of his ſtandards [6]. But he ſoon A. D. 887.

5. *Chron. de Geſt. Norm.* 6. Paul Æmil. *de Geſt. Franc.*

found

PART I. A.D. 887.

found his miſtake: they did not ſhew the ſmalleſt alarm; and Charles preferring a ſhameful negociation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodious ranſom for his capital, and the ſafety of his kingdom. Nay, what was ſtill more diſgraceful, not being able to raiſe the money till the ſpring, it being then the month of November, he permitted the Normans to winter in Burgundy, which had not yet acknowleged his authority; or, in other words, to continue their ravages, which they did with the moſt inſatiable fury [7].

THIS ignominious treaty, and its conſequences, entirely ruined the emperor's reputation, which was already low. He had no miniſter in whom he could confide; for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans firſt revolted. Charles had incurred the hatred of the nobility by attempting to limit the hereditary fiefs; and he made the clergy his enemies, while he expoſed himſelf to univerſal contempt, by proſecuting Ludard, biſhop of Verceil, his prime miniſter, and the only perſon of authority in his ſervice, on a ſuſpicion of a criminal correſpondence with the empreſs Rachel, whom he impriſoned, and who completed his diſgrace. She kept no meaſures with him: ſhe affirmed, that ſhe was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her huſband and her accuſer; in ſupport of which aſſeveration ſhe offered to undergo any trial that ſhould be aſſigned her, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of thoſe times, when an abſurd appeal to Heaven ſupplied the place of a jury of matrons, and inſiſted on being admitted to her purgation. Ludard foſtered the general diſcontent; and Charles
A. D. 888. was depoſed in a diet of the empire, and neglected to

7. Chron. *Geſt. Norm.*

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ſuch a degree, as to be obliged to ſubſiſt by the liberality of the biſhop of Mentz [8].

A. D. 888.

ARNOLD, the baſtard ſon of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandſon of Lewis the German, was now raiſed to the imperial dignity. Italy ſubmitted alternately to Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido or Guy, duke of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne by the mother's ſide. Their competitions were long and bloody. Count Eudes, whoſe valour had ſaved Paris, and whoſe father, Robert the Strong, had been no leſs brave and illuſtrious, was elected king of France; which he agreed to hold in truſt for Charles the Simple, yet a minor [9].

BUT France, notwithſtanding the courage and talents of Eudes, was ſtill a ſcene of contention and diſorder. A faction pretended to aſſert the right of the lawful heir, who was not really injured, and Eudes ceded to him the greater part of the kingdom. Count Ralph or Rodolph, eſtabliſhed the kingdom of Burgundy Transjuran (ſo called on account of its relation to mount Jura), which comprehended nearly the preſent Switzerland and Franche Comté. A council confirmed to Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, the kingdom of Arles, as a council had given it to his father [10]. Hiſtory would be nothing but a mere chaos, were it to comprehend all the effects of violence, treachery, and anarchy, that diſgraced this period. I ſhall therefore only notice the leading circumſtances, which alone deſerve your attention.

EUDES died in 898, without being able to remedy the diſorders of the ſtate; and Charles the Simple, but too juſtly ſo named, now acknowleged king of A. D. 898.

8. *Annal. Fuldenſ. Regin. Chronicon.*
9. *Annal. Metenſ.*
10. Regin. *Chron.*

France

PART I. A. D. 898.

France in his own right, increaſed by his weakneſs the prevailing evils. The nobles aſpired openly at independency. They uſurped the governments with which they had been intruſted, and extorted confirmations of them from Charles for themſelves and their heirs, on the eaſy condition of an empty homage [11]. A large, and once well-regulated kingdom, was divided into a multitude of ſeparate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whoſe poſſeſſors waged continual wars with each other, and exerciſed an inſupportable tyranny over their dependents, their vaſſals and ſubvaſſals [12]. By theſe means the great body of the people was either reduced to a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, or to a condition ſo precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and ſlavery [13].

THE Normans took advantage of this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy to eſtabliſh themſelves in France. Rollo, one of their moſt illuſtrious leaders, and truly a great captain, after having ſpread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, ſailed up the Seine; A. D. 905. took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters. Now ſure of a ſafe retreat, he ſet no bounds to his depredations; and ſoon became ſo formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neuſtria, as her dower. Francon, archbiſhop of Rouen, was charged with the negociation. He only demanded that Rollo ſhould acknowlege Charles as his ſuperior, and become a Chriſtian; and, in order to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future

11. *Orig de Dignitez et de Magiſt. de France*, par P. Fauchet.
12. Id. ibid. 13. *L'Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxx.

ſtate,

ſtate, of hell, and of heaven. Intereſt, not ſuperſtition, determined Rollo. After conſulting his ſoldiers, who, like moſt gentlemen of the ſword, were very eaſy on the article of religion, he agreed to the treaty; on condition that the province of Bretagne alſo ſhould be ceded to him, till Neuſtria, then entirely laid waſte by the ravages of his countrymen, could be cultivated. His requeſt was granted: he was baptized, and did homage for his crown, leſs as a vaſſal than a conqueror [14]. A. D. 912.

Rollo was worthy of his good fortune: he ſunk the ſoldier in the ſovereign, and proved himſelf no leſs ſkilled in the arts of peace than thoſe of war. Neuſtria, which henceforth took the name of Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants, ſoon became happy and flouriſhing under his laws. Senſible that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number of his ſubjects, he invited the better ſort of Normans from all parts to come and ſettle in his dominions. He encouraged agriculture and induſtry; was particularly ſevere in puniſhing theft, robbery, and every ſpecies of violence; and rigidly exact in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he ſaw was the great baſis of policy, and without which his people would naturally return to their former irregulari-

14. When he came to the laſt part of the ceremony, which was that of kneeling, and ſeeming to kiſs the king's feet, he poſitively refuſed to go any farther; and it was with much difficulty he could be perſuaded to make that compliment, even by one of his officers. At length, however, he agreed to the propoſal. But all the Normans, it ſeems, were bad courtiers; for the officer commiſſioned to repreſent Rollo, deſpiſing ſo unwarlike a prince as Charles, caught his majeſty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiſs it, overturned both him and his chair, before all his nobility. This inſult was paſſed over as an accident, becauſe the French nation was in no condition to revenge it. Gul. Gemet. *Chron. des Ducs de Normandie.*

PART I. ties [15]. A taſte for the ſweets of ſociety increaſed with the conveniencies of life, and the love of juſtice with the benefits derived from it: ſo that the duchy of Normandy was in a ſhort time not only populous and cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ableſt prince, and the wiſeſt legiſlator of the age in which he lived.

WHILE theſe things paſſed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring ſtates, and among the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. The moſt remarkable only merit your attention. Arnold king of Germany, and emperor of the Weſt, was ſucceeded by his ſon, Lewis IV. only ſeven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and ſon of the uſurper Boſon, croſſed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict IV. to crown him emperor. But he was ſoon after ſurpriſed at Verona by Berengarius, who put out his eyes, and aſcended the throne of Italy, which he had long diſputed with the emperor Arnold [16]. In the mean time Lewis IV. died, and the empire departed from the French to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne, to thoſe Saxons whom he had ſubdued and perſecuted; who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had ſuffered, and the perſecutors of other Pagans. But this revolution deſerves a particular Letter.

A. D. 912.

15. Gul. Gemet. ubi ſup. Dudon. *de Morib. et Act. de Norm. Duc.*
16. Annal. *Metenſ.*

LET-

LETTER XIV.

The GERMAN EMPIRE, *from the Election of* CONRAD I. *to the Death of* HENRY *the* FOWLER.

SOME hiſtorians, my dear Philip, are of opinion, that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was reunited to the imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany, when the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, ſeems to me the moſt natural period to fix its origin, though the two firſt emperors never received the papal ſanction. I ſhall therefore begin with Conrad, the firſt German who ruled the empire, after it ceaſed to be conſidered as an appendage of France. LETTER XIV. A. D. 912.

THOUGH the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne poſſeſſed that empire which he had formed by virtue of hereditary deſcent, they had uſually procured the conſent of the nobles to their teſtamentary deeds, that no diſpute might ariſe in regard to the ſucceſſion. This precaution was highly neceſſary in thoſe turbulent times, eſpecially as the imperial dominions were generally divided among the children of the reigning family, who were by that means put in a better condition to conteſt a doubtful title. What was at firſt no more than a political condeſcenſion in the emperors, became gradually to be interpreted into a privilege of the nobility; and hence originated the right of thoſe electors, by whom the emperor is ſtill inveſted with the imperial power and dignity. They had already depoſed Charles the Fat, and raiſed to the empire Arnold, baſtard of Carloman, king of Bavaria [1].

1. See Lett. X.

PART I. A. D. 912.

THUS authoriſed by cuſtom, the German nobles aſſembled at Worms, on the death of Lewis IV. and not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they offered the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony. But he declined it, on account of his age; and, with a generoſity peculiar to himſelf, recommended to the electors Conrad, count of Franconia, though his enemy. Conrad was accordingly choſen by the diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended Franconia, the province of Bamberg, Suabia, Conſtans, Baſil, Bern, Lauſanne, Burgundy, Bezançon, Lorrain, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Straſbourg, Friezland, Saxony, Heſſe, Weſtphalia, Thuringia, Wetteravia, Miſnia, Brandenbourg, Pomerania, Rugen, Stetin, Holſtein, Auſtria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyroleſe, Bavaria, the Griſons; and, in general, all the countries ſituated among theſe provinces, and their dependencies.

THE reign of Conrad I. was one continued ſcene of troubles, though he took every neceſſary meaſure to ſupport his authority and preſerve the tranquillity of the empire. He was no ſooner elected than he had occaſion to march into Lorrain; where the nobility, being attached to the family of Charlemagne, acknowledged Charles the Simple as their ſovereign, and offered to put him in poſſeſſion of that country. Before Conrad could ſettle the affairs of Lorrain, he was recalled by the revolt of ſeveral powerful dukes, who envied his promotion. One rebellion ſucceeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. They had for ſome time been accuſtomed to paſs the entrenchments formed by Charlemagne along the Raab, in order to reſtrain their incurſions; and, no leſs fierce than their

LETTER XIV.

anceſtors, they had laid every thing waſte before them, and borne down all oppoſition. In 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia: all Germany felt their fury. Lewis IV. ſubmitted to pay them an annual tribute. They had ſeveral times pillaged Italy; and now in their way from that country, where they had humbled Berengarius (taking advantage of the troubles of the empire), they made irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorrain, and Alſace, which they deſolated with fire and ſword, and obliged Conrad to purchaſe a peace on the moſt ſhameful conditions[2]. He died without male heirs, in 919, after recommending to the Germanic body as his ſucceſſor, Henry duke of Saxony, ſon of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

A. D. 917.

HENRY I. ſurnamed the Fowler, becauſe he delighted much in the purſuit of birds, was elected with univerſal approbation by the aſſembled ſtates; compoſed of the dignified clergy, the principal nobility, and the heads of the army.

A. D. 920.

THIS right of chuſing an emperor, originally common to all the members of the Germanic body, was afterwards confined, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, to ſeven of the chief members of that body, conſidered as repreſentatives of the whole, and of all its different orders; namely, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, chancellors of the three great diſtricts into which the German empire was anciently divided, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine[3].

2. *Ann. Hildeſt. Annal. German.* ap. Struv. *Corp. Hiſt.* vol. i.
3. Goldaſt. *Politic. Imperial.* init.

PART I. A. D. 925.

It was ſtill undecided whether Lorrain ſhould belong to France or Germany. Henry, as ſoon as the ſituation of his affairs would permit, entered it with a powerful army, and ſubdued the whole country. His next care was the internal peace and proſperity of the empire. He publiſhed a general amneſty in favour of all thieves and banditti, provided they would enliſt in his armies, and actually formed them into a troop. He created marquiſes, in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire againſt the Barbarians, and obliged all vaſſals and ſub-vaſſals to furniſh ſoldiers, and corn for their ſubſiſtence [4]. He likewiſe ordered the principal towns to be ſurrounded with walls, baſtions, and ditches; and, that the nobility might be habituated to the uſe of arms, even in times of peace, he inſtituted certain military games, or tournaments, in which they vied with each other in diſplaying their valour and addreſs.

A. D. 932.

After taking theſe wiſe meaſures for the welfare of the ſtate, Henry began to prepare for war againſt the Hungarians, whom he had exaſperated by refuſing the annual compoſition, and other marks of diſdain and defiance. Enraged at his firmneſs, they entered Germany with an army of three hundred thouſand men, breathing vengeance. But Henry being ſupported by the whole force of his dominions, though ſtill inferior to theirs, defeated them with great ſlaughter at Merſbourg, and reſcued the empire from a barbarous enemy, and an ignominious tribute [5].

Having thus ſubdued his enemies, and ſecured the tranquillity of his ſubjects, both at home and abroad, the emperor began to taſte the fruits of his

4. *Ann. Sax.*

5. Engelhuſ. p. 174.

wiſdom and valour, when the pope and the citizens of Rome invited him to the conqueſt of Italy, ſtill diſtracted by civil wars, offering him the holy unction, and the title of Auguſtus. Henry, who was ambitious to be maſter of Italy, and no doubt deſirous of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, ſet out immediately for that country at the head of his troops; but being ſeized with an apoplexy on his march, he was obliged to return, and died at Manſleben in Thuringia [6]. Before his death, he convoked the princes of the empire, who ſettled the ſucceſſion on his ſon Otho. A. D. 936.

HENRY was univerſally allowed to be the ableſt ſtateſman, and the greateſt prince of Europe in his time; but his ſucceſſor Otho, afterwards ſtyled the Great, ſurpaſſed him both in power and renown, though not perhaps in valour or abilities. For, as Voltaire well obſerves, the acknowledged heir of a great prince, who has been the founder or reſtorer of a ſtate, is always more powerful than his father, if not very much inferior in courage and talents:—and the reaſon is obvious. He enters on a career already opened to him, and begins where his predeceſſor ended. Hence Alexander went farther than Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great than Henry the Fowler. But before I proceed to the reign of Otho, we muſt take a view of the troubles of France under Charles the Simple, and his unhappy ſucceſſors of the Carlovingian race.

6. *Ann. Sax.*

LETTER XV.

FRANCE, *from the Settlement of the* NORMANS, *to the Extinction of the* CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

LETTER XV.

A. D. 911.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen the uſurpations of the nobles, and the ſettlement of the Normans in France, under Charles the Simple. He gave daily more proofs of his weakneſs, and became equally contemptible to the French and Normans. A violent attempt was made to dethrone him by Robert duke of France, brother to Eudes, the late king. This rebellion was defeated, in the firſt inſtance, by the unexpected anſwer of Rollo, duke of Normandy, who generouſly declared, when ſolicited to join in it, that he was equally incapable of abetting or ſuffering injuſtice[1]!—Yet Rollo, as we have ſeen, was once a robber by profeſſion. But then, as ought to be obſerved in his vindication, he was under engagements to no prince, and claimed the protection of no laws; he was then on a footing with the Cæſars and the Alexanders, and now only inferior in power to the Alfreds and the Charlemagnes.

AFTER the death of Rollo, duke Robert renewed his intrigues. He firſt made the king diſmiſs Haganon, his favourite miniſter; and next ſeized that miniſter's treaſures, with which he gratified his adherents. They declared Charles incapable of reign-

A. D. 922. ing, and proclaimed Robert king of France. He was ſoon after killed in battle, yet his party triumphed: and his ſon Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, as he is ſtyled by ſome writers, on account of the num-

1. Flodard. *Giron.*

ber

ber of rich abbies which he held, had the crown in his power. But he choſe to place it on the head of Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, who aſſumed the title of king, and was almoſt univerſally acknowledged [2]. A. D. 923.

In this extremity, Charles had recourſe to William I. duke of Normandy, and to the emperor Henry the Fowler, who were preparing to aſſiſt him, when he was decoyed by the treacherous friendſhip of Herbert, count of Vermandois, into the fortreſs of Chatteau-Thierri, and there detained priſoner. A. D. 924. The unfortunate monarch now became the ſport of the ambition of his own rebellious ſubjects. The count releaſed him, and paid homage to him as his ſovereign, when he wanted to gain his ends with Rodolph, and ſhut him up when they were accompliſhed. The county of Laon was the price of Charles's confinement. He died in priſon [3]. A. D. 929.

After the death of Charles the Simple, Rodolph acted with much ſpirit and reſolution. He repelled the incurſions of ſome new tribes of Normans, reſtrained the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, and reſtored both tranquillity and vigour to the kingdom. But as this prince died without iſſue, France was again involved in troubles, and a kind of interregnum enſued. A. D. 936. At length Hugh the Great, ſtill diſdaining the title of king, or afraid to uſurp it, recalled Charles's ſon Lewis, ſurnamed the Stranger, from England; whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred [4]. She had taken refuge in the court of her brother Athelſtan,

2. Monach.
3. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.*
4. Flodard. *Chron.*

Lewis

PART I. A. D. 936.

LEWIS was only in his ſeventeenth year when he was recalled, and in a great meaſure unacquainted with the affairs of France; yet he conducted himſelf with a ſpirit becoming his rank, though not without ſome degree of that imprudence natural to his age. He attempted to reſcue himſelf from the tyranny of duke Hugh, who had been appointed his tutor, and allowed him little more than the name of king. But, after a variety of ſtruggles, he was obliged to make peace with his vaſſal, and confirm to him the county of Laon[5], to which almoſt the whole royal domain was reduced.

A. D. 954. LEWIS the Stranger died in 954, and left a ſhadow of royalty to his ſon Lothario; or rather Hugh the Great was pleaſed to grant him the title of king, that he himſelf might enjoy the power[6]. This ambitious nobleman, no leſs formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was ſucceeded in A. D. 955. conſequence and abilities by his ſon Hugh Capet, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee on the throne of France.

LOTHARIO wanted neither courage nor ambition. He attempted to recover Lorrain, which had been for ſome time in the poſſeſſion of the emperors of Germany. But Otho II. by an artful ſtroke of policy, diſconcerted his meaſures, and ruined his reputation. He ceded the diſputed territory to the king's brother Charles, on condition that he ſhould hold it as a fief of the empire[7]. Lothario, incenſed at this donation, by which his brother was benefited at the expence of his character, his intereſt, and the honour of his crown, aſſembled a powerful army, and marched

5. Aimon. lib. v.
6. Flodard. *Chron.*
7. Aimon. lib. v.

ſuddenly

LETTER XV.

ſuddenly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he ſurpriſed the emperor, and put him to flight. He himſelf was vanquiſhed, in his turn, and again victorious[8]. But, after all, he was obliged to reſign Lorrain, which was divided between his brother Charles and the emperor Otho. A. D. 980.

LOTHARIO died in 986, and was quietly ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a ſhort reign of one year and two months, which was one continued ſcene of troubles. In him ended the Carlovingians, or the deſcendants of Charlemagne, the ſecond race of French kings.—The affairs of the empire now claim your attention. A. D 987.

LETTER XVI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* OTHO *the* GREAT, *and his Succeſſors of the Houſe of* SAXONY.

LETTER XVI.

OTHO I. the moſt powerful emperor ſince Charlemagne, and who had the honour of reuniting Italy to the imperial dominions, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936, by the unanimous conſent of the diet there aſſembled, according to the promiſe made to his father Henry the Fowler[1]. He began his reign A. D. 936.

8. Id. ibid.

1. The diets of the German empire were originally the ſame with the national aſſemblies held by the kings of France. They met at leaſt once a year, and every freeman had a right to be preſent. They were great councils, in which the ſovereign deliberated with his ſubjects, concerning their common intereſts. But when the nobles and dignified clergy acquired, with the rank of princes, territorial and independent

PART I. reign with the moſt upright adminiſtration, and ſeem-
A. D. 936. ed deſirous to live in peace and tranquility. But his quiet was ſoon interrupted by wars both foreign and domeſtic, which he had ſufficient abilities to manage, and which terminated in his aggrandizement.

THE Hungarians, according to cuſtom, invaded the empire, committing every ſpecies of barbarity. Otho, however, ſoon put a ſtop to their ravages. He came up with them on the plain of Dortmund, in Weſtphalia, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. But the Hungarians were not the only enemy that Otho had to encounter. Immediately after his return from this victory, he was informed that the Bo-
A. D. 937. hemians had revolted. Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and moſtly Pagan. Otho, after a variety of ſtruggles, rendered it tributary to Germany, and alſo obliged the inhabitants to embrace Chriſtianity [2].

IN the mean time the emperor was engaged in many diſputes with his own rebellious ſubjects. Arnold, duke of Bavaria, being dead, his ſon Everhard refuſed to do homage to Otho, on pretence that he was not his vaſſal, but his ally. This ſtruggle between the crown and the great fiefs, between power which always ſeeks increaſe, and liberty which aſpires at in-

dependent juriſdiction, the diet became an aſſembly of the ſeparate ſtates that formed the confederacy of which the emperor was the head; and in which, if any member poſſeſſed more than one of thoſe ſtates, he was allowed a proportional number of ſuffrages. On the ſame principle the imperial cities, as ſoon as they became free, and acquired ſupreme and independent juriſdiction within their own territories, were received as members of the diet. (Arumæus de *Comitiis Rom. German. Imperii.*) The powers of the diet extend to every thing relative to the common intereſt of the Germanic body, as a confederacy, but not to the interior government of the different ſtates, unleſs when domeſtic diſorders diſturb or threaten the peace of the empire. *Pfeffel. Abregé.*

2. Dubrav. *Hiſt. Bohem.*

dependency,

dependency, for a long time agitated Europe. It subſiſted in Spain, whilſt the Chriſtians had to contend with the diſciples of Mahomet; but after the expulſion of the Moors, the ſovereign authority got the aſcendant. It was this competition that involved France in troubles till the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. when the feudal lordſhips were gradually ſtript of their power, and the nobles reduced to a dependence on the prince; that eſtabliſhed in England the mixed government, to which we owe our preſent greatneſs, and cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles with the ſlavery of the people. The ſame ſpirit hath, at different times, troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Holland and Swiſſerland: the ſame cauſe hath almoſt every where produced different effects!—The prerogatives of the prince have, in ſome inſtances, as in that of the German empire, been reduced to a mere title, and the national union itſelf preſerved only in the obſervance of a few inſignificant formalities. The duke of Bavaria was not willing to obſerve even theſe formalities: Otho therefore entered that country with an army, expelled Everhard, and beſtowed the duchy upon his uncle Bartolf, who willingly did homage for ſuch a preſent[3]. The emperor at the ſame time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria, and the other count palatine of the Rhine. A. D. 938.

LETTER XVI.

THIS dignity of Count Palatine was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and French emperors. Theſe Palatines were at firſt ſupreme judges, and gave judgment in the laſt appeal, in the name of the emperor. They were alſo intruſted with the government of the imperial domains.

3. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii.

OTHO

PART I. A. D. 940.

OTHO having thus ſettled the internal tranquility of the empire, (which, however, was ſoon diſturbed by the rebellion of his brother) aſſembled a diet at Arenſberg, where among other things it was debated, whether inheritance ſhould deſcend in a direct line; whether, for example, a grandſon, heir to an elder ſon, ſhould ſucceed, on the death of his grand-father, in preference to his uncles. The diet not being able to come to any determination on this point, though ſo clear according to our preſent ideas of inheritance, it was agreed that the cauſe, which had ſuggeſted the doubt, ſhould be decided by duel. An equal number of combatants were accordingly choſen on both ſides; and the ſuit was determined in favour of the grandſon, his champions being victorious[4]. The deciſion by arms was, for once conſiſtent with equity: the law is now univerſal. This mode of trial ſoon became general over Europe; and under the following reign a diet ordained, that doubtful caſes ſhould no longer be decided upon oath, but by the ſword[5]. The baſe at leaſt were, by that ordinance, deprived of the advantages which they might have reaped from perjury, whatever other inconveniencies might attend it[6]. And the regulation itſelf proves the baſeneſs as well as the ignorance of the age.

A. D. 943.

IN order to counterbalance the power of the nobility, Otho augmented the privileges of the German clergy. He conferred on them duchies and counties, with all the rights of other princes and nobles; and, like Charlemagne, the founder of that empire, whoſe luſtre he reſtored, he propagated Chriſtianity by

A. D. 948.

force of arms. He obliged the Danes to pay him

4. Id. ibid. 5. *Leg. Langob.* lib. ii.

6. This reaſon is actually aſſigned, in a Barbarian Code, in favour of the judicial combat, in caſes where an oath might ſettle the diſpute. *Leg. Burgund.* tit. xlv.

tribute,

tribute, and receive baptiſm, as an earneſt of their good behaviour[7]. The Bohemians, as I have already obſerved, were alſo ſubjected to the ſame conditions. LETTER XVI. A. D. 951

No ſooner did Otho find himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the North, than the ſouth attracted his eye: and a favourable opportunity now offered of gratifying his ambition without injury to his humanity. Italy was torn by factions, and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II. king of the two Burgundies, had dethroned Berengarius, and been himſelf dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provençe, whoſe ſon Lothario was alſo dethroned by Berengarius II. This Berengarius kept Adelaida, the widow of Lothario, in confinement. She invited Otho to her relief. He entered Italy at the head of a powerful army: delivered Adelaida, married her, and obliged Berengarius to take an oath of fealty, generouſly leaving him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom[8]. A. D. 951.

THE pleaſure which Otho muſt have received from the conqueſt of Italy, was allayed by the revolt of his ſon Ludolphus; who, though already declared ſucceſſor to the empire, was ſo much chagrined at his father's ſecond marriage, that he engaged in a rebellion againſt him with the duke of Franconia, and other German noblemen. Purſued by the vigilance of the emperor, Ludolphus took refuge in Ratiſbon, where he was ſoon reduced to extremity. At the interceſſion of his friends, however, he was permitted to retire with his followers. He again rebelled; but returning, ſoon after, to a ſenſe of his duty, he took an opportunity, when Otho was hunting, to throw himſelf at his feet, and implored forgiveneſs in the moſt humiliating language. "Have pity," ſaid he, A. D. 955.

7. *Ann. San.* 8. Flodoard. lib. iv.

(after

PART I. (after a pathetic pauſe) "on your child, who re-
"turns, like the prodigal ſon, to his father. If you
"permit him to live, who has ſo often deſerved to
"die, he will be faithful and obedient for the future,
"and have time to repent of his folly and ingrati-
"tude." The emperor, equally ſurprized and af-
fected at this moving ſpectacle, raiſed his ſon from
the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes,
received him into favour, and forgave all his fol-
lowers[9].

A.D. 959. THIS young prince afterwards died in Italy, whi-
ther he had been ſent by his father, to humble the
ungrateful Berengarius, who had broke his faith with
the emperor, and tyrannized over his countrymen.
The untimely death of Ludolphus, which greatly af-
fected Otho, gave Berengarius time to breathe. He
was ſoon abſolute maſter of the ancient kingdom of
Lombardy, but not of Rome, which was then go-
verned by Octavianus Sporco, grandſon of the cele-
brated Marozia, concubine of Sergius III. By the
great intereſt of his family, he had been elected pope
at the age of eighteen, when he was not even in or-
ders. He took the name of John XII. out of reſpect
to the memory of his uncle, John XI. and was the
firſt pope who changed his name on his acceſſion to
the pontificate[10].

THIS John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of
Rome, and conſequently united in the papal chair the
privileges of both temporal and ſpiritual authority, by
a right whoſe legality could not be diſputed. But he
was young, ſunk in debauchery, and unable to oppoſe
the tyranny of Berengarius and his ſon Adelbert; he
A.D. 960. therefore conjured Otho "by the love of God, and

9. *Annal. Germ.* ex Mſſ. 10. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* lib. vi.

"of

"of the holy apoſtles, to come and deliver the Ro-
"man church from the fangs of two monſters."
This flattering invitation was accompanied with an offer of the papal ſanction to the imperial crown, and of the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian ſtates [11].

In compliance with the requeſt of the pope, or rather with the occaſion it afforded of gratifying his own ambition, the emperor aſſembled a powerful army, and marched into Italy, after having convoked A.D. 961. a diet at Worms, where his ſon Otho, by Adelaida, was elected his ſucceſſor; a neceſſary precaution, in thoſe troubleſome times, for ſecuring the crown in a family. Berengarius fled before him: he entered Pavia without oppoſition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the archbiſhop of that city, in preſence of the nobility and clergy, who had formally depoſed Berengarius. Rome alſo opened its A.D. 962. gates to Otho; and the pope crowned him emperor of the Romans, dignified him with the title of Auguſtus, and ſwore allegiance to him on the tomb where the body of St. Peter is ſaid to be depoſited [12]. The emperor at the ſame time confirmed to the Apoſtolic See the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "Saving in all things," ſays he, "our authority, "and that of our ſon and deſcendants [13];" expreſſions by which it appears that, in this grant, Otho reſerved to the empire the ſupreme juriſdiction over the papal territories.

The emperor next marched in purſuit of Berengarius, whom he ſeized, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Meanwhile the pope, finding that he had given himſelf a maſter in a protector, repented of

11. Didmar. lib. ii. 12. Fr. Hen. Bod. Synt. ex Meib.
13 *Exemplar. Diplom. Othon.* ap. Baron.

PART I.

what he had done; broke his oath to the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert, the ſon of Berengarius, though formerly his moſt implacable enemy. Otho ſuddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled; and a council depoſed John XII. for his debaucheries, as was pretended, but in reality for revolting againſt the emperor, though his licentiouſneſs was ſufficiently enormous to render him unworthy of any civil or eccleſiaſtical dignity. Leo VIII. a layman, but a man of virtue, was elected his ſucceſſor; and the clergy and citizens of Rome took anew the oath of allegiance
A.D. 963. to Otho, and bound themſelves neither to elect nor conſecrate a pope without the conſent of the emperor[14].

BUT Otho having occaſion to quell ſome diſturbances in Spoleto, a faction reinſtated John XII. a
A.D. 964. new council depoſed Leo, and a canon was enacted, declaring, "that no inferior can degrade a ſuperior[15];" by which was meant to be intimated, not only that the biſhops and cardinals had no power to depoſe a pope, but that the emperor, as a layman, owed to the church that very allegiance which he exacted from her.

SOON after this revolution, pope John was aſſaſſinated in the arms of one of his miſtreſſes. His party however ſtill refuſed to acknowledge Leo, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter. Informed of theſe audacious and faithleſs proceedings, Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, and reſtored Leo VIII. to his dignity. Benedict appeared before a council; owned himſelf guilty of uſurpation; ſtript himſelf of the pontifical robes; implored compaſſion, and was baniſhed to Hamburgh. Leo

14. Sigon. lib. vii.

15. Luitprand. lib. vi.

VIII.

VIII. with all the clergy and Roman people, made at the ſame time a celebrated decree, which was long conſidered as a fundamental law of the empire; "That "Otho, and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Italy, "ſhould always have the power of chuſing a ſucceſ- "ſor, of naming the pope, and of giving inveſtiture "to biſhops [16]." LETTER XVI. A. D. 964.

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, Otho returned to Germany; where he was ſcarce arrived, when the Italians again revolted, and expelled John XIII. who had been elected in preſence of the imperial commiſſioners, after the death of Leo VIII. Enraged at ſo many inſtances of perfidy, Otho once more entered Italy, and marched to Rome, which he treated with a ſeverity ſomewhat bordering on revenge, but juſtly merited. He baniſhed the conſuls, hanged the tribunes, and cauſed the prefect of Rome, who aimed at the character of a ſecond Brutus, to be whipt naked through the ſtreets on an aſs [17]. Theſe ancient dignities ſubſiſted only in name, and the people were deſtitute of every virtue. They had repeatedly broken their faith to the prince, whoſe protection they had craved, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance; an attempt therefore to reſtore the republic, which had at one time been conſidered as the height of patriotiſm, was now deſervedly puniſhed as a ſeditious revolt—though a perſon of no leſs eminence than Voltaire ſeems to conſider both in the ſame light. A. D. 965. A. D. 966.

AFTER re-eſtabliſhing the pope, and regulating the police of Rome, Otho retired to Capua, where he received ambaſſadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires, and alſo propoſed a marriage between his daughter Theophania A. D. 967.

16. *Extract.* in Gratiana.

17. Sigon. lib. vii.

PART I. A. D. 967. and Otho's ſon, lately aſſociated with his father in the ſupreme power. In the courſe of this negociation, however, the Greek grew jealous of the German, and ordered the nobles to be aſſaſſinated who came to receive the princeſs. Incenſed at ſo enormous a perfidy, Otho directed his generals to enter Calabria, A. D. 968. where they defeated the Greek army, cut off the noſes of their priſoners, and ſent them in that condition to Conſtantinople [15].

BUT peace was ſoon after eſtabliſhed between the two empires. Nicephorus being put to death by his ſubjects, John Zimiſces, his ſucceſſor, ſent the princeſs Theophania into Italy, where her marriage with young Otho was conſummated [16], and all differences A. D. 970. happily accommodated. The emperor returned to Germany, covered with glory and ſucceſs, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his victories two years in his native Saxony. He died in 973, after a reign of thirty-ſix years; during which, by his generoſity and courage, he had juſtly acquired the appellation of OTHO the GREAT, the Conqueror of Italy, and the Reſtorer of the empire of Charlemagne.

A. D. 974. OTHO II. ſurnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood ſpilt under his reign, ſucceeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occaſioned troubles, which his valour enabled him to diſſipate. Henry, duke of Bavaria, and ſeveral other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a ſhort time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his juſtice. The conſul Creſcentius, ſon of the abandoned Theodora, who had been concubine to pope John X. revived the project of reſtoring the republic, and cauſed Benedict VI. who adhered to the emperor, to be murdered in priſon. His faction elected Boniface VII. another

18. Id. ibid. 19. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

faction

faction elected Benedict VII. and a third John XIV. who was put to death by Boniface[20]. LETTER XVI.

THESE horrors ſucceeded one another ſo rapidly that chronologers have not been able to aſcertain the dates, nor hiſtorians accurately to ſettle the names of the pontiffs. The pope of one party was the anti-pope of another. But Benedict VII. and the imperial party at laſt prevailing, Boniface went in perſon to Conſtantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Baſil and Conſtantine, to come and reſtore the throne of the Cæſars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke[21].

THIS circumſtance, my dear Philip, merits your attention. The popes, in order to increaſe their power, had formerly renounced their allegiance to the Greeks, and called in the Franks. They afterwards had recourſe to the Germans, who confirmed the privileges granted them by the French; and now they ſeemed ready to receive their ancient maſters, or rather to acknowlege no maſter at all: and hence they have been accuſed of boundleſs ambition. But in theſe proceedings I can ſee no foundation for ſuch a charge. It is natural for man to deſire ſway; and, when obtained, to ſeek to increaſe it. When the popes were become temporal princes, they would conſequently ſeek to ſecure and extend their dominion. If they had acted otherwiſe, they would not have been men. I am much more offended at that dominion of blind belief, which they endeavoured to extend over the human mind. The one was a generous, the other an ignoble ambition; the firſt made only a few men change their ſovereign, the latter ſubjected millions

20. Sigon. lib. vii. 21. Id. ibid.

PART I. to a debaſing ſuperſtition, and was neceſſarily accompanied with hypocriſy and fraud.

I HAVE already mentioned, in the hiſtory of France, the diſpute about Lorrain, which Otho II. politically divided with Lothario's brother Charles, on condition that the French prince ſhould do homage for it after the cuſtom of thoſe times, with bended knee, and cloſed hands. That war being finiſhed, A. D. 981. and the affairs of Germany ſettled, Otho marched into Italy, entered Rome without oppoſition, and ſeverely chaſtiſed the rebels; but attempting to wreſt Calabria from the Greeks, his army was cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their aſſiſtance[22]. He died ſoon after at Rome, while preparing to take revenge on the enemy.

A. D. 983. OTHO III. already elected emperor, ſucceeded his father at twelve years of age; and his uncle and his mother diſputing the adminiſtration, Germany was diſquieted by a turbulent regency, while Rome became a prey to new factions, and the ſcene of new crimes. Creſcentius blew again the trumpet of liberty, and perſuaded the Romans they were ſtill free, that he might have it in his power to enſlave them.

BUT when the emperor, who proved a brave and enterpriſing prince, came of age, all things were ſoon A. D. 989. reduced into order. He defeated the Danes, who had invaded the empire, and entered into a friendly alliance with Eric, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, on condition that German miſſionaries ſhould be allowed to preach the goſpel in his dominions[23]; a

22. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. ii. 23. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

great

great conceſſion in thoſe times, and highly mortifying to the worſhippers of Odin. LETTER XVI.

THE affairs of the North being ſettled, Otho marched into Italy at the interceſſion of John XV. who was perſecuted by Creſcentius. Alarmed at the name of Otho, which had ſo often proved fatal to their confederates, the rebels returned to their duty, and Creſcentius was pardoned. But ſcarce had the emperor left Rome, when that licentious ſpirit again revolted; expelled Gregory V. the ſucceſſor of John XV. and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this freſh inſult, Otho returned with a powerful army to Rome, which he took by aſſault; ordered Creſcentius to be beheaded, and the antipope to be thrown from the top of the caſtle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his noſe cut off[24]. A. D. 996. A. D. 998.

HAVING thus puniſhed the rebels, reſtored Gregory, and received anew the allegiance of the citizens of Rome, Otho returned to Germany; whence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom at the ſolicitation of duke Boleſlaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire. A. D. 1000.

BUT the Saracens about this time making an irruption into the Campania of Rome, the emperor was again obliged to march into Italy. He expelled the ravagers, and repaired with a ſmall body of troops to Rome, where his life was endangered by a conſpiracy; and, while he was aſſembling forces to puniſh the rebels, he is ſaid to have been poiſoned by a pair of A. D. 1001.

24. Id. ibid. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 25. Baron.

PART I. gloves ſent him by the widow of Creſcentius, whom he had debauched under a promiſe of marriage [26].

A.D. 1002. THE empire ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, reſolute, and juſt; and by a glorious reign of eighteen years, changed the ſurname of Infant, which had been given him at his acceſſion, into that of the Wonder of the World.

As Otho III. died without children, a number of competitors ſtarted up for the empire, three of whom were ſuppoſed alike qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry duke of Bavaria, Herman duke of Suabia, and Ekkard marquis of Saxony. But the duke of Bavaria being grandſon to Otho II. by the female line, was elected in conſequence of his ſuperior power, and confirmed and conſecrated under the name of Henry II.

THE new emperor had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of Germany, and diſconcerted an aſſociation formed againſt him by the king of Poland, than he found it neceſſary to march into Italy, where Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, had aſſumed the ſovereignty. Ardouin retired at the approach of Henry, who was crowned
A.D. 1005. king of Lombardy at Pavia, by the archbiſhop of Milan; but the marquis having ſome partizans in that city, they inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that the emperor was in danger of being ſacrificed to their fury. The tumult was at laſt quelled by the imperial troops. Thoſe within the city defended the palace, while detachments from the camp ſcaled the walls, and committed terrible ſlaughter in the ſtreets, till Henry ordered them to deſiſt, and retired to the

26. *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe* par Reneđ.

fortreſs

fortreſs of St. Peter. Thither the principal citizens repaired in a body; implored the emperor's clemency; proteſted their loyalty, and laid the blame of the ſedition on the partizans of Ardouin, who had practiſed on the ignorance of the vulgar. Henry generouſly admitted their apology: "Mercy," ſaid he, "is my favourite virtue; and I would much rather "find your obedience the reſult of affection, than the "conſequence of fear [27]." LETTER XVI. A. D. 1005.

THE troubles of Germany obliged the emperor to leave Italy without viſiting Rome. But theſe being quelled, and the king of Poland, who had revolted, reduced to obedience, Henry afterwards returned to Italy with his wife Cunegunda, and was crowned in St. Peter's by Benedict VIII. He at the ſame time defeated Ardouin, who had re-aſſumed the royal authority in his abſence, and quieted the diſorders of Lombardy. A. D. 1014.

CLOYED with ſucceſs, ſick of human greatneſs or of the toils of empire, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monaſtic life, Henry had for ſome time expreſſed a deſire of retiring from the world, and now actually took the religious habit. But the abbot of St. Vall, when he received the emperor as a brother, wiſely impoſed the following command on him. "Monks owe obedience to their ſuperior," ſaid he: "I order you to continue at the helm of government [28]."

IN conſequence of this injunction, Henry conſented to wear the crown, and increaſed in proſperity to the hour of his death. Yet he ſeems to have been a prince of a weak mind; for, beſides his monaſtic whim, A. D. 1024.

27. Heiſs, lib. ii. Barre, tom. iii. 28. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

PART I. it appears that he had made a vow of chaſtity. And, when he felt his end approaching, he ſent for the parents of his wife Cunegunda, and ſaid, "You gave "her to me a virgin, and I reſtore her a virgin[29]!" Can a reſtraint on the natural inclinations be a virtue, where their indulgence does not interfere with the welfare of ſociety? Do not think ſo. Such a declaration from a huſband is ſufficient to make us credit the accuſations of adultery laid againſt Cunegunda, though ſhe is ſaid to have proved her innocence by handling red-hot iron.

LETTER XVII.

ENGLAND, *from the Death of* ALFRED *to the Reign of* CANUTE *the* GREAT.

LETTER XVII. ENGLAND, my dear Philip, from the reign of Alfred to the Daniſh conqueſt, affords few objects to arreſt the attention of the ſcholar, the gentleman, or the politician. Little attention was paid to arts or letters; which, with manners, ſuffered a decline. The conſtitution continued nearly the ſame. A conciſe account of the principal reigns will therefore be ſufficient for your purpoſe; more eſpecially as England, during this period, had no connection with the affairs of the continent.

A. D. 901. ALFRED was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Elder, being the firſt of that name who ſat on the Engliſh throne. Though inferior to his father in genius and erudition, he equalled him in military talents: and he had occaſion for them. Ethelwald his couſin-german, ſon to king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother,

29. Id. ibid.

diſputed the crown, and called in the Danes to ſupport his claim. The death of Ethelwald, who fell in a battle with the Kentiſh men[1], decided the quarrel; but Edward's wars with the Danes continued during the greater part of his reign, though he was ſucceſsful in almoſt every engagement. He died in 925. A. D. 910.

ATHELSTAN, Edward's natural ſon, obtained the kingdom, in preference to his legitimate children. As he was arrived at an age more ſuited to the cares of government, and the nation expoſed to foreign and domeſtic wars, required a prince of vigour and abilities, the ſtain in his birth was overlooked. A. D. 925.

No ſooner was Athelſtan ſecurely ſeated on the throne, than he endeavoured to give it ſtability by providing againſt the inſurrections of the domeſtic Danes. With this view he marched into Northumberland, their moſt conſiderable ſettlement; and finding that they bore with impatience the Engliſh yoke, he judged it prudent to confer on Sitheric, a Daniſh nobleman, the title of king, and to give him his ſiſter Editha in marriage, as a further motive of attachment. But this policy, though apparently wiſe, proved the ſource of many troubles.

SITHERIC died within a twelvemonth after his elevation; and his two ſons, by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretenſions on their father's rank, aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for the approbation of Athelſtan. But they were ſoon expelled by that powerful monarch, who was no leſs brave than politic. The former took ſhelter in Ireland, the latter in Scotland; where he was pro-

1. *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting.

tected

PART I. tected for ſome time, by the clemency of Conſtantine, who then ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre. Continually ſolicited however, and even menaced by the Engliſh monarch, Conſtantine at laſt promiſed to deliver up his gueſt; but ſecretly deteſting ſuch treachery, he gave Godfrid a hint to make his eſcape. Incenſed at Conſtantine's behaviour, though the death of the fugitive had freed him from all apprehenſions,

A. D. 934. Athelſtan entered Scotland with a numerous army, and reduced the Scots to ſuch diſtreſs, that their king was happy to preſerve his crown by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions[2].

A. D. 938. ATHELSTAN afterwards defeated the Scots, Welſh, and Danes, in a general engagement at Brunſbury, in Northumberland. In conſequence of this victory he enjoyed tranquillity during the reſt of his reign. He appears to have been one of the moſt able and active of our ancient princes: and his memorable law for the encouragement of commerce, diſcovers a liberality of mind worthy the moſt enlightened ages; That a merchant, who had made two voyages, on his own account, to diſtant lands, ſhould be admitted to the rank of a leſſer thane or gentleman[3].

A. D. 941. ATHELSTAN was ſucceeded by his brother Edmund; who, on his acceſſion, met with ſome diſturbance from the Northumbrian Danes, whom he re-

A. D. 945. duced to obedience. He alſo conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that principality on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he ſhould do homage to England for it, and protect the northern counties from all future incurſions of the foreign Danes[4].

2. Hoveden.
3. Brompton.
4. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

En-

LETTER XVII.

EDMUND's reign was ſhort, and his death violent. As he was ſolemnizing a feaſt in Glouceſterſhire, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he had ſentenced to baniſhment, audaciouſly entered the hall where his ſovereign dined, and ſeated himſelf at one of the tables. Enraged at ſuch inſolence, Edmund ordered him to be ſeized; but obſerving that the ruffian was preparing to reſiſt, the indignant monarch ſprung up, and catching him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. Meanwhile Leolf having drawn his dagger, lifted his arm with a furious blow, and ſtabbed the king to the heart, who immediately expired on the boſom of his murderer [5]. A. D. 948.

EDMUND left male iſſue; but as his eldeſt ſon was too young to govern the kingdom, his brother Edred was raiſed to the throne. The beginning of Edred's reign, like thoſe of his predeceſſors, was diſturbed by the rebellion of the Northumbrian Danes. Though frequently humbled, they were never entirely ſubdued, nor had they ever paid a ſincère allegiance to the Engliſh crown. Their obedience laſted no longer than the preſent terror. Edred, inſtructed by experience, took every precaution to prevent their future inſurrections. He ſettled Engliſh garriſons in their moſt conſiderable towns, and placed over them an Engliſh governor, to watch their motions, and check the firſt appearance of revolt. He alſo obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for Cumberland [6]. A. D. 952.

BUT Edred, though a brave and active prince, lay under the influence of the loweſt ſuperſtition, and had blindly delivered over his conſcience to the guidance

5. Id. ibid. H. Hunting. lib. v. 6. Hoveden.

of

PART I. of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, commonly called St. Dunſtan, whom he advanced to the higheſt offices of ſtate, and who concealed beneath an appearance of ſanctity the moſt inſatiable and inſolent ambition. In order to impoſe on the credulity of mankind, this deſigning monk had long ſecluded himſelf from the world in a miſerable cell, where he is ſaid to have had frequent conflicts with the Devil; until one day, when the Infernal Spirit attempting to ſeduce him in the ſhape of a woman, Dunſtan ſeized him by the noſe with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood reſounded with his bellowings[7]. Satan, thus vanquiſhed, durſt never more ſhew his face. This ſtory, and others of a like nature, then ſeriouſly believed, obtained the abbot a reputation, both with prince and people, which no real piety or virtue could poſſibly have procured him. Soon after his return from ſolitude, he was placed by Edred at the head of the treaſury; and, ſenſible that he owed his advancement ſolely to the opinion of his auſterity, he profeſſed himſelf a friend to the rigid monaſtic rules, which about this time began to prevail, and by which monks were excluded from all commerce with the world and with women. He introduced them into the convents of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon, and endeavoured to render them univerſal in the kingdom [8].

A WORD here of the monaſtic life.

THERE had been monaſteries in England from the firſt introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons, and theſe eſtabliſhments had been greatly multiplied by the miſtaken piety of the Engliſh princes and nobles, who ſought to bribe Heaven by donations to

7. Oſberne, in *Anglia Sacra*. vol. ii. 8. Id. ibid.

the

the church. But the monks had hitherto been a ſpecies of ſecular prieſts, who were at liberty either to marry or continue ſingle, and who lived after the manner of our preſent canons or prebendaries. They both intermingled with the world, in ſome degree, and endeavoured to render themſelves uſeful to it. A ſuperſtitious devotion, however, had produced in Italy a new ſpecies of monks, who ſecluded themſelves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the moſt inviolable chaſtity. Dunſtan laid hold of this circumſtance to commence reformer. The popes had favoured the doctrine from motives of general policy, as detaching the eccleſiaſtical from the civil power: the abbot embraced it for his own aggrandiſement. Celibacy was therefore extolled as the univerſal duty of prieſts; and, in England, the minds of men were already prepared for ſuch an innovation, though it militates againſt the ſtrongeſt propenſities in human nature.

THE firſt preachers of Chriſtianity among the Saxons had carried to the moſt extravagant height the praiſes of inviolable chaſtity: the pleaſures of love had been repreſented as incompatible with Chriſtian perfection; and an abſtinence from all commerce with the ſofter ſex, certainly the higheſt act of ſelf-denial, was deemed a ſufficient atonement for the greateſt enormities. It therefore naturally followed, as a conſequence of this doctrine, That thoſe who officiated at the altar ſhould at leaſt be free from ſuch pollution. And Dunſtan and his reformed monks knew well how to avail themſelves of theſe popular topics, and ſet off their own character to the beſt advantage. On the other hand, their rivals the ſecular clergy, who were numerous and rich, and poſſeſſed of the eccleſiaſtical dignities, defended themſelves with vigour, and boldly maintained the ſanctity of the

PART I. the inſtitution of marriage[9]. The whole nation was thrown into a ferment.

In the mean time, the power of the monks receiv-
A.D. 955. ed a check by the death of Edred, the dupe of their ambition. He left children, but in an infant ſtate; the crown was therefore conferred on Edwy, his nephew, ſon to Edmund, his brother and predeceſſor[10].

This prince, who was only ſeventeen years of age at his acceſſion, poſſeſſed an elegant perſon, and the moſt amiable and promiſing virtues. But neither the graces of his figure, nor the accompliſhments of his mind, could ſcreen him from the fury of the monks, whom he unhappily offended in the beginning of his reign. The beautiful Elgiva, his ſecond or third couſin, had made an impreſſion on the ſuſceptible heart of Edwy; and, as he was at an age when the tender paſſions are moſt keenly felt, he ventured to marry her, though within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the church. The auſterity of the monks made them particularly violent on this occaſion: the king therefore entertained a ſtrong averſion againſt them, and determined to oppoſe their project of expelling the ſeculars from the convents. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent his raſhneſs, in provoking ſuch dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, while the nobility, aſſembled in the great hall, were indulging themſelves in riot and diſorder, after the example of their German anceſtors, Edwy, attracted by the gentler pleaſures of love, retired to the queen's apartment, and gave looſe to his fondneſs, which was but feebly checked by the preſence

9. Spelm. *Con.* vol. i.

10. *Chron. Sax.*

of

of her mother. Dunſtan conjectured the reaſon of the king's abſence; and carrying along with him Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an abſolute aſcendant, he burſt into the royal privacy; upbraided Edwy of laſciviouſneſs, tore him from the arms of his conſort, and puſhed him back ignominiouſly into the company of the nobles, loading the queen with the moſt opprobrious epithets [11].

THOUGH Edwy was young, and had the prejudices of the age to encounter, he found means to revenge this public inſult. He accuſed Dunſtan of malverſation in office, while at the head of the treaſury; and as that miniſter did not clear himſelf of the charge, the king baniſhed him the realm. But Dunſtan's party were not idle during his abſence. They poiſoned the minds of the people to ſuch a degree by declamations againſt the king, and panegyrics on the abbot's ſanctity, that the royal authority was deſpiſed, and ſtill more outrageouſly inſulted. Archbiſhop Odo ordered the queen to be ſeized; and after her face had been ſeared with a red-hot iron, in order to deſtroy that fatal beauty which had enſnared the king, ſhe was carried into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile [12].

EDWY finding reſiſtance ineffectual, was obliged to conſent to a divorce, which was pronounced by the imperious Odo. But theſe were not the only evils which attended this unfortunate prince and his conſort. The amiable Elgiva was made priſoner by her perſecutors, and cruelly murdered in returning to the embraces of the king, whom ſhe ſtill conſidered as her huſband. Nothing leſs than her death could ſatisfy

11. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. 12. Oſberne, ubi ſup.

PART I. the archbiſhop and the monks. Edwy was dethroned by the ſame influence, in order to make room for his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age. Dunſtan returned to England, and took upon him the government of the young king and his party. He was firſt inſtalled in the ſee of Worceſter, next in that of London, and afterwards in that of Canterbury; of all which he long kept poſſeſſion. In the mean time the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and purſued by his enemies with unrelenting vengeance[13]. A. D. 959. But his death ſoon freed them from all inquietude, and left Edgar in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne.

THE reign of Edgar is one of the moſt fortunate in the Engliſh annals. Though he aſcended the throne in early youth, he ſoon diſcovered an excellent capacity for government. He ſhewed no averſion againſt war: he took the wiſeſt precautions for public ſafety; and, by his vigilance and foreſight, he was enabled to indulge his natural inclination for peace. He maintained a body of troops in the North, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in awe, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He alſo built and ſupported a powerful navy; and, in order to habituate the ſeamen to the practice of their profeſſion, as well as to intimidate his enemies, he ſtationed three ſquadrons off the coaſts of his kingdom, and commanded them to make by turns the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes durſt not approach a country which was ſo ſtrongly defended: the domeſtic Danes ſaw deſtruction to be the inevitable conſequence of inſurrection; and the princes of Wales, of Scotland, and even of Ireland, were happy to appeaſe ſo potent a monarch by ſubmiſſions[14].

13. Brompton. 14. Spelm. *Conc.* vol. i.

BUT

But the means by which Edgar more eſpecially maintained his authority at home, and preſerved public tranquillity, was paying court to Dunſtan and the monks, who had violently placed him on the throne, and whoſe claim to ſuperior ſanctity gave them an aſcendant over the people. He favoured their ſcheme of reformation, as it was called, but in reality of diſpoſſeſſing the ſecular canons of the monaſteries: he conſulted them in the adminiſtration of all eccleſiaſtical, and even of many civil affairs; and although the vigour of his genius prevented him from being entirely guided by them, he took care never to diſoblige them. Hence he is repreſented by the monkiſh writers not only as a warrior and a politician, a character which he ſeems to have merited, but alſo as a ſaint and a man of virtue, though he was licentious in the higheſt degree, and violated every law human and divine. His very amours are a compound of barbarity and brutality. He broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her perſon[15]. Struck alſo with the charms of a nobleman's daughter, in whoſe houſe he was entertained, he demanded that ſhe ſhould paſs that very night with him, without once conſulting the young lady's inclinations[16]. But his moſt remarkable amour was with the beautiful Elfrida; and, as it is connected with the hiſtory of the following reign, I ſhall relate it circumſtantially. It will give you at once an idea of the manners of the age, and of the character of Edgar.

15. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

16. This demand was made to the mother, who being a woman of virtue, ſent ſecretly to the king's bed, inſtead of her daughter, her maid Elfleda; with whom Edgar paſſed the night ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he not only forgave the old lady for her pious deceit, but transferred his love to Elfleda, who became his favourite miſtreſs." Gul. Malmeſ. ubi ſup.

PART I.

ELFRIDA, the only daughter and ſole heireſs of Olgar, earl of Devonſhire, though educated in the country, and a ſtranger at court, had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar, who was never indifferent to any report of this kind, ſent Athelwold, his favourite, to ſee if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame had repreſented her. Athelwold no ſooner ſaw Elfrida than he was inflamed with love, and determined to ſacrifice to it his fidelity to his maſter: he therefore told Edgar, on his return, that the fortune and quality of Elfrida alone had been the cauſe of the adulation paid her; and that her charms, ſo far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely overlooked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he, when he found he had blunted the edge of the king's curioſity, "though ſhe "has nothing to claim the attention of a ſovereign, "her immenſe wealth would, to a ſubject, be a ſuf- "ficient compenſation for the homelineſs of her per- "ſon; and, although it could never produce on me "the illuſion of beauty, it might make her a con- "venient wife!"

EDGAR, glad of an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his favourite's fortune, not only gave his approbation to the projected match, but forwarded its ſucceſs by recommending him in the warmeſt manner to the earl of Devonſhire; ſo that Athelwold was ſoon made happy in the poſſeſſion of his beloved Elfrida. Dreading, however, the eyes of the king, he ſtill found ſome pretence for detaining his wife in the country. But all his precautions were inſufficient to conceal his amorous treachery. Royal favourites are never without enemies: Edgar was ſoon informed of the truth; but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's perfidy, he reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf fully in regard to Elfrida's beauty. He therefore told

told his deceiver, That he intended to pay him a viſit at his caſtle, and be introduced to his wife, whoſe beauty he had formerly heard ſo much praiſed. Athelwold was thunderſtruck at the propoſal; but, as he could not refuſe ſuch an honour, he only begged leave to go a few hours before his royal gueſt, that he might make proper preparations for his reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet; diſcovered the whole ſecret, and conjured her, if ſhe valued either her own honour or his life, to diſguiſe as much as poſſible that fatal beauty which had tempted him to deceive his prince and friend. Elfrida promiſed compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her thoughts. She adorned her perſon with the moſt exquiſite art, and called forth all her charms; not deſpairing, it ſhould ſeem, yet to reach that exalted ſtation of which Athelwold's fondneſs had deprived her. The event was anſwerable to her wiſhes: ſhe excited at once in Edgar's boſom the warmeſt love, and the keeneſt deſire of revenge. The king, however, who could diſſemble thoſe paſſions, as well as feel them, beheld her with ſeeming indifference; and having ſeduced Athelwold into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he ſtabbed him with his own hand, took Elfrida to court, and ſoon after publicly married her[17].

THIS reign is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pleaſure in purſuing thoſe ravenous animals: and when he found they had all taken ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales, he changed the tribute of money impoſed on the Welch princes by Athelſtan, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves[18]; a policy which occaſioned ſo much diligence in hunting them, that the breed ſoon became extinct in the iſland.

17. Gul. Malmeſ. Hoveden, Brompton, ubi ſup.
18. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

PART I. A. D. 975. EDGAR was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward, commonly called the Martyr, whom he had by his firſt wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer.

THE ſucceſſion of Edward did not take place without much oppoſition. Elfrida, his ſtep-mother, had a ſon named Ethelred, only ſeven years old, whom ſhe attempted to raiſe to the throne. But the principal nobility, dreading her imperious temper, oppoſed a meaſure which muſt increaſe her authority, if not put her in poſſeſſion of the regency; and Dunſtan, to whom it was of great importance to have a king favourable to his cauſe, reſolutely crowned and anointed Edward, over whom he had already gained an abſolute aſcendant. His ſhort reign was remarkable for nothing but a continual ſtruggle between the monks and the ſecular clergy. He was treacherouſly
A. D. 978. murdered at the inſtigation of Elfrida, in order to make room for her ſon Ethelred.

SOON after the acceſſion of Ethelred, a prince without courage or capacity, England was viſited anew by the Danes. The wiſe regulations of Alfred, and the valour of his immediate ſucceſſors, had long deterred thoſe ravagers from approaching the Britiſh ſhores; and their ſettlement in France had required, for a time, moſt of their ſuperfluous hands. But a new race of men having now ſprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer diſburden themſelves on Normandy, and England being no longer governed by an Alfred or an Edgar, they ventured to renew their depredations. Ethelred, inſtead of rouſing his people to defend with courage their prince and their property, meanly compounded with the enemy
A. D. 991. for his ſafety, by bribing them to depart the kingdom [19].

19. Id. ibid.

THAT

LETTER XVII.

THAT ſhameful expedient, which invited aſſailants inſtead of repelling them, was attended with the ſucceſs that might have been expected; the Danes again returned, and were again bribed to depart. In the mean time Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel reſolution of maſſacring the Danes throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were accordingly given to commence the execution on the ſame day, and all the Danes were deſtroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and embraced Chriſtianity, was ſeized, and put to death by Ethelred, after having ſeen her huſband and children butchered before her face [20]. A. D. 1002.

THIS unhappy princeſs foretold, in the agonies of deſpair, that her murder would ſoon be revenged by the total ruin of the Engliſh nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, nor ever did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its projectors. Sweyn, king of Denmark, breathing vengeance for the ſlaughter of his countrymen, landed ſpeedily in the Weſt of England, and deſolated the whole kingdom with fire and ſword. The Engliſh, ſenſible what they had to expect from a barbarous and enraged enemy, attempted ſeveral times to make a ſtand; but they were ſucceſſively betrayed by Alferic and Edric, governors of Mercia. The baſe and imprudent expedient of money A. D. 1003.

20. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. Contrary to the teſtimony of moſt of our old Engliſh hiſtorians, who repreſent the maſſacre of the Danes as univerſal, Walingford, (p. 548.) ſays that it affected only a military body in the pay of the king, diſperſed over the country; become inſolent in an uncommon degree, and in ſome meaſure maſters of the kingdom; which, inſtead of protecting, they often ravaged, in conjunction with the foreign Danes. After ſo great an elapſe of time, it is impoſſible to decide upon the matter with certainty; but as the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia were chiefly peopled with Danes, Walingford's account ſeems moſt probable.

PART I. was again tried, till the nation was entirely drained of its treaſure, but without effect. The Danes continued their ravages; and Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own ſubjects, fled over to his brother-in-law, Rich-
A.D. 1013. ard duke of Normandy, who received him with a generoſity that does honour to his memory [21].

Sweyn died ſoon after Ethelred left England, and before he had time to eſtabliſh himſelf in his newly
A.D. 1014. acquired dominions. Ethelred was recalled; but his miſconduct was incurable. On reſuming the government, he diſcovered the ſame incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had ſo often expoſed him to the inſults of his enemies: and the Engliſh found in Canute, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sweyn, an enemy no leſs terrible than his father. An army was aſſembled againſt him under the command of Edric and prince Edmond. Edric, whom the infatuated king ſtill truſted, continued his perfidious machinations. After endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to diſſipate the
A.D. 1015. army, and then openly revolted to Canute with forty veſſels [22].

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Edmond, whoſe intrepidity never failed him, collected the remaining force of the kingdom, and was ſoon in a condition to give the enemy battle. But the king had ſo often experienced the perfidy of his ſubjects, that he had loſt all confidence in them: he therefore refuſed to take the field; ſo that the prince's vigorous meaſures were rendered altogether ineffectual, the army being diſcouraged by the timidity of their ſovereign. As the North had already ſubmitted to Canute's

21. Hen. Hunting. lib. vi. 22. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

power,

power, Edmond retired to London, determined there to maintain the ſmall remains of Engliſh liberty. In the mean time his father died, after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1016.

ETHELRED left two ſons by his firſt marriage: Edmond, who ſucceeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two ſons by the ſecond marriage, Alfred and Edward, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma, immediately after the death of their father.

EDMOND, who received the name of Ironſide from his hardy valour, poſſeſſed courage and abilities ſufficient to have ſaved his country; not only from ſinking under its preſent calamities, but even to have raiſed it from that abyſs of miſery into which it was already fallen, had the Engliſh, among their other misfortunes, not been infected with treachery and diſloyalty. But theſe rendered his beſt concerted ſchemes abortive, and his nobleſt efforts fruitleſs. The traitor Edric pretended to return to his duty; and, as Edmond had no general in whom he could repoſe more confidence, he gave him a conſiderable command in the army. A battle was ſoon after fought at Aſſington in Eſſex. Edric deſerted to the enemy, in the beginning of the day, and occaſioned the total defeat of the Engliſh army, with a great ſlaughter of the nobility.

THE indefatigable Edmond, however, had ſtill reſources. He aſſembled a new army at Glouceſter, and was again in a condition to diſpute the field; when the Daniſh and Engliſh nobility, equally tired of the ſtruggle, obliged their kings to come to terms. The kingdom was divided between them by treaty. Canute reſerved to himſelf the northern diviſion;

PART I. Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely ſubdued: the ſouthern parts were left to Edmond, who ſurvived the treaty only a month.

A. D. 1017. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, whoſe treachery made way for the acceſſion of Canute the Dane to the throne of England[23]; Edwin and Edward, the ſons of Edmond, being yet in their infancy.

LETTER XVIII.

FRANCE, *from the* ACCESSION *of* HUGH CAPET, *to the* INVASION *of* ENGLAND *by* WILLIAM *Duke of* NORMANDY.

LETTER XVIII.

A. D. 987. WHILE England changed its line of ſovereigns, and Germany its form of government, France alſo had changed its reigning family, and was become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. Each province had its hereditary counts or dukes. He who could only ſeize upon two or three ſmall villages, paid homage to the uſurper of a province; and he who had only a caſtle, held it of the poſſeſſor of a town. The kingdom was a monſtrous aſſemblage of members, without any compact body.

OF the princes, or nobles, who held immediately of the crown, Hugh Capet was not the leaſt powerful. He poſſeſſed the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine: he was alſo count of Paris; and the vaſt domains which he held in Picardy and Champagne, gave him great authority in thoſe provinces. He therefore ſeized the crown on the

23 Gul. Malmeſ. Hen. Hunting. ubi ſup.

death

death of Lewis V. and brought more ſtrength to it than he derived from it; for the royal domain was now reduced to the cities of Laon and Soiſſons, with a few other diſputed territories [1]. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 987.

THE right of ſucceſſion belonged to Charles, duke of Lorrain, uncle to Lewis V. but the condition of vaſſal of the empire appeared to the French nobility a ſufficient reaſon for excluding him, and Hugh Capet ſecured the favour of the clergy by reſigning to them the abbies which had been hereditary in his family. An extreme devotion, real or aſſumed, recommended him to the people; and particularly, his veneration for reliques. Force and addreſs ſeconded his ambition, and the national averſion againſt his rival completed its ſucceſs. He was acknowledged in an aſſembly of the nobles: he was anointed at Rheims; and he farther eſtabliſhed his throne, by aſſociating his ſon Robert in the government of the kingdom, and veſting him with thoſe enſigns of royalty, which he prudently denied himſelf, as what might give umbrage to men who were lately his equals [2]. A. D. 988.

IN the mean time the duke of Lorrain entered France; made himſelf maſter of Laon by aſſault, and of Rheims, by the treachery of archbiſhop Arnold, his relation. But this unhappy prince was afterwards himſelf betrayed by the biſhop of Laon, and made priſoner for life 3. A. D. 989.

A COUNCIL was aſſembled for the trial of Arnold. He was degraded; and Gerbert, a man of learning and genius, who had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. and to the king's ſon, Robert, was elected arch-

1. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 2. Id. ibid.
3. Sigeberti, *Chron.*

PART I. biſhop of Rheims. But the court of Rome not being conſulted in this tranſaction, the election was declared void: Arnold was re-eſtabliſhed, and Gerbert depoſed. The firſt, however, remained in priſon till the death of Hugh Capet, who was more afraid of Arnold's intrigues than of the thunder of the Vatican[4]; while the ſecond, having found an aſylum in the court of his pupil Otho, became archbiſhop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, under the name of Sylveſter II.

NOTHING elſe memorable happened during the reign of Hugh Capet, who conducted all his affairs with great prudence and moderation; and had the ſingular honour of eſtabliſhing a new family, and in ſome meaſure a new form of government, with few circumſtances of violence, and without ſhedding blood. A. D. 997. He died in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, and was quietly ſucceeded by his ſon Robert; a prince of a leſs vigorous genius, though not of a leſs amiable diſpoſition.

THE moſt remarkable circumſtance in the reign of Robert, and the moſt worthy of our attention, is his excommunication by the pope. This prince had eſpouſed Bertha, his couſin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our preſent ideas of things, and juſtified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but neceſſary to the welfare of the ſtate, ſhe being the ſiſter of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other uſurpations, had about this time made a ſacrament of marriage, and laid the moſt eſſential of civil engagements under ſpiritual prohibitions, which ex-

4. Id. ibid.

tended

tended even to the ſeventh degree of conſanguinity. The popes politically arrogated to themſelves a ſpecial juriſdiction over this firſt object of ſociety, and that on which all the reſt hang. Gregory V. therefore undertook to diſſolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authoriſed by ſeveral biſhops; and in a council held at Rome, without examining the cauſe, and without hearing the parties, he publiſhed, with the moſt deſpotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be ſeparated, under peril of excommunication. And all the biſhops who had countenanced the pretended crime, were ſuſpended from their functions, until ſuch time as they ſhould make ſatisfaction to the Holy See [5].

ROBERT, however, perſiſted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the ſentence of excommunication; which, according to cardinal Peter Damien, an hiſtorian of thoſe times, had ſuch an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domeſtics, two ſervants excepted. And theſe threw to the dogs all the victuals which their maſter left at meals, and purified, by fire, the veſſels in which he had been ſerved: ſo fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated perſon [6]! The ſame credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to-bed of a

5. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.*

6. Let us not however, with certain ſarcaſtical hiſtorians, repreſent this mode of inſpiring religious terrors as an invention of the Chriſtian prieſthood. Cæſar tells us that, among the ancient Gauls, if any one, whether magiſtrate or private perſon, refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence of the Druids, he was interdicted the ſacrifices; and that, while under ſuch prohibition, all men ſhunned him, leſt they ſhould ſuffer by the contagion of his impiety. (Cæſar, *Bell. Gal.* lib. vi.) The power of EXCOMMUNICATION, or the authority of *excluding* the *vicious* and *refractory* from *religious privileges*, is neceſſary indeed to every body of prieſts. But it ought to extend no farther; to *affect* no *legal right*, nor any *civil privilege*.

monſter,

PART I. monſter, which had a neck and head like a gooſe; a certain proof and puniſhment of inceſt!—But, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, there was nothing monſtrous in all this affair, but the inſolence of the pope, and the weakneſs of the king; who giving way to ſuperſtitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at laſt repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Conſtance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found an imperious termagant, inſtead of an amiable conſort. Gregory alſo obliged him to reſtore the traitor Arnold to the ſee of Rheims[7].

In the mean time Robert had it in his power to have been maſter of the popes, if he had poſſeſſed the ambition and the vigour neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize. After the death of Henry II. the laſt emperor of the houſe of Saxony, the Italians, ſick of the German dominion, offered their crown, and the imperial dignity, to the king of France. Robert, however, had the reſolution to refuſe it: and not only his own ſubjects, but Europe in general was ſoon convinced, that he had acted wiſely; for thoſe who made the propoſal, afterwards deſerted the perſon who accepted it[8].

A. D. 1024.

The latter years of Robert's reign were rendered very unhappy by the diſorders of his family. Unfortunate in the death of his eldeſt ſon Hugh, whom he had aſſociated in the ſovereignty, his queen Conſtance, whoſe haughtineſs was altogether inſupportable, attempted to regulate the ſucceſſion. Having an averſion againſt her ſon Henry, ſhe wanted to place her younger ſon Robert on the throne. But the king, by the advice of his parliament, confirmed the ſucceſſion to Henry, his eldeſt ſurviving ſon. Provok-

7. Amon. *Hiſt.* lib. v. 8. Id. ibid.

ed

ed at this meaſure, the queen wanted to embroil the brothers[9]; but they, being united by a ſincere friendſhip, withſtood all her irritations. At length, become equally the objects of her hatred, they retired from court, and took arms in order to obtain a ſeparate eſtabliſhment. In the mean time the king died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1031.

THERE is not any monarch in the French hiſtory more generally, or more highly commended than Robert, notwithſtanding his weakneſs of temper, or on whoſe death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more ſincere. The monks ſpoke the ſenſe of the whole nation, when they deplored him in theſe words: "We have loſt a father, who governed "us in peace. We lived under him in ſecurity; for "he did not oppreſs, or ſuffer oppreſſion: we loved "him, and there was nobody whom he feared[10]."

HENRY I. was twenty-ſeven years of age at his acceſſion to the throne, and with all the ſpirit of a young man, he had the ſagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years; without which, the crown would have been ſhaken from his head, almoſt as ſoon as it was placed there. His mother Conſtance, who hated him, as has been obſerved, and who was ambitious ſtill to govern, had drawn over to her party a number of lords and biſhops, under pretence of ſupporting the cauſe of her younger ſon Robert. Henry, therefore, after ſome ineffectual ſtruggles, was obliged to take refuge in Normandy, where he was received with all poſſible reſpect by duke Robert; who aſſured him, that the treaſures and the forces of the duchy were at his diſpoſal. Nor were theſe mere expreſſions of civility: an army of Normans entered

9. Glab. *Hiſt. ſui Temp.* 10. Helgaldus. Glab. ubi ſup.

France

PART I. A. D. 1031. France on one ſide, while the king and the royal party invaded it on the other. The queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had loſt. But although this conteſt ended glorioufly for the king, it proved hurtful to the monarchy; for as the ſucceſs of the war was principally owing to the duke of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy Giſors, Chaumont, Pontoiſe, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown[11].

THE next affair of importance that occupied the king's attention was the ſucceſſion to the duchy of Normandy. Duke Robert had thought fit, in compliance with the faſhionable devotion of thoſe times, to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. But before his departure, as he was a prudent prince, though now old and ſuperſtitious, he aſſembled his nobles; and, informing them of his pious purpoſe, the length of the journey, and the dangers to which he muſt be expoſed, he engaged them to ſwear allegiance to his natural ſon William, whom he tenderly loved, and intended for his ſucceſſor, as he had no legitimate iſſue. He alſo recommended the guardianſhip of this ſon, who was only nine years of age, to two perſons in whom he placed the greateſt confidence; Henry I. king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne[12]. But theſe precautions did not prevent many diſorders, which a mind not hoodwinked by ſuperſtition muſt have foreſeen; ariſing from the habitual turbulency of the great, the illegitimacy of William, and the claims from other branches of the ducal family.

A. D. 1035. ROBERT died, as he had apprehended, in his pilgrimage; and left his ſon rather the heir of his wiſhes

11. Gul. Gemet. lib. vi. 12. Id. ibid.

than

than of his dominions. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of ſovereign authority, broke out into perſonal quarrels, and made the whole duchy a ſcene of war and devaſtation. Alain duke of Bretagne came to appeaſe their animoſities; but being very roughly treated, he returned home, and was ſoon after carried off by ſlow poiſon, ſuppoſed to have been given him in Normandy. Various pretenders aroſe to the ſucceſſion; and the king of France, forgetting what he owed to Robert, ſeemed willing to deprive his infant ſon of his inheritance, by taking advantage of theſe troubles. He accordingly invaded the Norman frontier, and reduced ſeveral places; but not finding the conqueſt ſo eaſy as he expected, or influenced by the returning ſentiments of friendſhip and generoſity, he united his forces with thoſe of the young duke, and the malcontents were totally routed in the battle of Val de Dunes, which gave William quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions [13]. A. D. 1046.

HENRY I. died in 1060, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip, whom he had by his ſecond wife, and the firſt with whom he cohabited, the daughter of Joradiſlas, duke of Ruſſia; a circumſtance truly remarkable, in an age when the intercourſe between nations was ſo little familiar. But the prohibitions of marriage were ſo multiplied, and the example of his father ſo alarming, that Robert is ſuppoſed to have ſought a wife in this remote country, in order to avoid the crime of inceſt, and the danger of excommunication. What muſt the diſorders of ſociety have been, when even a king did not know whom he might lawfully marry!

PHILIP I. was only eight years of age at the time of his acceſſion: and, what is very ſingular, inſtead A. D. 1060.

13. Gul. Gemet. ubi ſup.

PART I. A.D. 1060.

of being put under the guardianſhip of his mother or his uncle, one of whom it might naturally be ſuppoſed would have been called to the regency, he was committed by his father to the care of Baldwin V. ſurnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders; a man of ſtrict honour, and brother-in-law to Henry. Baldwin gave his pupil an education ſuitable to his rank: he kept the nobility in awe, without giving them juſt cauſe of offence; and he maintained peace, by being always prepared for war. Hiſtory, in a word, ſcarce furniſhes us with an inſtance of a minority more quiet, and of none more happy; an example the more remarkable, as the times and circumſtances of it were both delicate.

THE only colour that Baldwin gave for cenſure, was in his conduct towards William duke of Normandy, who was preparing to invade England, and whom he permitted to raiſe forces in France and Flanders; a liberty which, from the event, was judged impolitic. But the duke being his ſon-in-law, he could not refuſe him with a good grace: and there was yet a farther motive for compliance. The fortunate and enterpriſing William might have entered France with that army which he had aſſembled againſt England, where he ſucceeded more ſpeedily, and with more eaſe, than could poſſibly have been expected. But the particulars of that invaſion, and its conſequences, belong to the hiſtory of our own country. I ſhall therefore only here obſerve, that to balance in ſome meaſure the increaſe of William's power, an offenſive and defenſive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland.

A.D. 1067. Soon after that negociation Baldwin died, and left his pupil Philip I. in peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, when he had attained his fifteenth year [14].

14 Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

ENGLAND *from the* DANISH *to the* NORMAN *Conqueſt.*

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen Edmond Ironſide inhumanly murdered, and England expoſed to the ambition of Canute the Dane; a prince both active and brave, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the ſons of Edmond. The Engliſh could therefore expect nothing but total ſubjection from Canute. But the Daniſh monarch, commonly ſo little ſcrupulous, ſhewed, on this occaſion, an anxiety to conceal his injuſtice under plauſible pretences. Before he ſeized the inheritance of the two young princes, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates of England, in order to fix the ſucceſſion; and having ſuborned ſome noblemen to depoſe that, in the treaty of Glouceſter, it was agreed, "That Canute, in caſe of Edmond's de-"ceaſe, ſhould ſucceed to the whole kingdom," the ſtates, convinced by this evidence, or over-awed by his victorious arms, immediately put the Dane in full poſſeſſion of the government[1]. LETTER XIX. A. D. 1017.

BUT although Canute had now attained the great object of his ambition in the undivided ſovereignty of England, he was at firſt obliged to make many ſacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief nobility, by beſtowing on them extenſive governments and juriſdictions. He alſo thought himſelf obliged, from political motives, to exerciſe ſome ſeverities. In order to reward his Daniſh followers, he loaded the people

1. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. R. Hoveden, *Annal.* pars prior.

PART I. A.D. 1017.

with oppreſſive taxes; and jealous of the two young princes, but ſenſible that he ſhould render himſelf deteſted if he ordered them to be murdered in England, he ſent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he deſired to get them privately diſpatched, as ſoon as they arrived at his court. But the Swediſh monarch was too generous to comply with ſuch a barbarous requeſt. Afraid, however, to draw on himſelf the diſpleaſure of Canute, by protecting the Engliſh princes, he ſent them to be educated in the court of Solomon, king of Hungary. A ſtrange place ſurely to ſeek for a preceptor. But the defenceleſs ſeek only a protector: and the ſons of Edmond found one in Solomon. Edwin, the eldeſt, was married to that monarch's ſiſter; but he dying without iſſue, Solomon gave his ſiſter-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother: and ſhe bore him Edgar Atheling, whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention; Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland; and Chriſtina, who retired into a convent [2].

THE removal of Edmond's children into ſo diſtant a country as Hungary, was regarded by Canute next to their death, as the greateſt ſecurity of his government. But he was ſtill under alarm on account of Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were protected and ſupported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Richard had even fitted out a fleet, on purpoſe to reſtore the Engliſh princes to the throne of their anceſtors. In order therefore to break the ſtorm, and to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, Canute paid his addreſſes to queen Emma, the duke's ſiſter, and the mother of thoſe princes who diſputed his ſway. He was liſtened to: Richard ſent over Emma to

2. Id. ibid.

England;

England; where ſhe was ſoon after married to Canute, the enemy of her former huſband's family, and the conqueror of that country which her children had a right to rule. But Canute promiſed that her children ſhould ſtill rule it, though not the children of Ethelred; and, although the Engliſh diſapproved of the match, they were pleaſed to find at court a ſovereign to whom they were accuſtomed: ſo that the conqueror, by this marriage, not only ſecured the alliance of Normandy, but acquired the confidence of his new ſubjects. Having thus freed himſelf from the danger of a revolution, Canute determined, like a truly wiſe prince, by the equity of his adminiſtration, to reconcile the Engliſh yet farther to the Daniſh yoke. He ſent back to their own country as many of his followers as could ſafely be ſpared: he reſtored the Saxon cuſtoms; he made no diſtinction between the Danes and Engliſh in the diſtribution of juſtice; and he took care, by a ſtrict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his ſubjects [3]. The Danes were gradually incorporated with the native Engliſh; and both were glad to breathe a little from thoſe multiplied calamities, which the conquerors, no leſs than the conquered, had experienced in their ſtruggle for dominion. LETTER XIX. A. D. 1017

THE firſt uſe that Canute made of this tranquillity was to viſit Denmark, where he obtained a victory, over the Swedes, by the valour of the Engliſh, under the command of earl Godwin, on whom he beſtowed his daughter in marriage. In a ſecond voyage to Denmark, he made himſelf maſter of Norway, and expelled the good Olaus from his kingdom. Canute ſeems now to have attained the height of his ambition; for from this period, he appears not on- A. D. 1019. A. D. 1028.

3. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii.

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ly to have laid aſide all thoughts of future conqueſts but to have held in contempt all the glories and pleaſures of the world: a neceſſary conſequence, my dear Philip, of aſſigning to human enjoyments a ſatisfaction which they cannot yield, and more eſpecially of purſuing them (another effect of the ſame cauſe) at the expence of juſtice and humanity.

DURING this change of mind it muſt have been that Canute, the greateſt and moſt powerful prince of his time, being ſovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England, put to the bluſh his flattering courtiers, who exclaimed in admiration of his grandeur, that every thing was *poſſible* for him. He ordered a chair to be brought, and ſeated himſelf on the ſea-ſhore, while the tide was riſing; and as the waves approached, he ſaid, in an imperious tone, "Thou ſea! art under "my dominion, and the land which I ſit upon is "mine: I charge thee, approach no farther! nor "dare to wet the feet of thy ſovereign." He even ſat ſome time in ſeeming expectation of ſubmiſſion: but as the ſea ſtill advanced towards him, and at laſt began to waſh him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and obſerved, that every creature in the univerſe is feeble and impotent; and that power reſides only with ONE Being, in whoſe hands are the elements of nature, and who can ſay to the ocean, "Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther[4]!"

BUT although Canute, ſick of worldly greatneſs, began to turn his eyes towards a future ſtate of exiſtence, the ſpirit which prevailed in that age unfortunately gave a wrong direction to his piety. Inſtead of making reparation to the perſons whom he had injured by former acts of violence, he built

4. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

churches,

churches, endowed monaſteries, and appointed prayers to be ſaid for the ſouls of thoſe who had fallen in battle againſt him; nay, more meritorious than all the reſt! he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. LETTER XIX.

AFTER his return from Rome, Canute performed nothing memorable, except an expedition againſt Malcolm king of Scotland, whom he humbled. He died in 1035, and left the crown of England to his ſon Harold Harefoot, by his firſt wife, Alfwen, daughter to the earl of Hampſhire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, his ſon by queen Emma, to whom he had promiſed the ſucceſſion[5]. A. D. 1035.

HAROLD reigned only four years. He was ſucceeded by his brother Hardicanute, whoſe reign was yet ſhorter. Neither of theſe princes had any qualities that merit your attention, nor did any thing memorable happen during their reigns. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that on the death of Hardicanute, who fell a ſacrifice to his brutal intemperance, the Engliſh ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, and recalled from Normandy Edward, ſon of Ethelred and Emma, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, to the throne of his anceſtors. A. D. 1039. A. D. 1041.

This revolution was effected without bloodſhed: and the mild and equitable government of Edward ſoon reconciled the Danes, no leſs than the Engliſh to his ſway. The diſtinction between the two nations vaniſhed. But the Engliſh in vain flattered themſelves, that they were for ever delivered from foreign maſters. A little time convinced them, that the evil was rather ſuſpended than removed.

5. *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting. R. Hoveden.

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EDWARD had been educated in Normandy; and having contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners, the court of England was ſoon filled with Normans, who were diſtinguiſhed by the royal favour, and had great influence in the national councils. He had alſo it appears, though married to a beautiful woman, made an indiſcreet vow of virginity, which rendered his bed ſterile, but obtained to him from the monks the title of Saint and Confeſſor: and he had given his kinſman, William duke of Normandy, hopes of ſucceeding to the Engliſh crown. What uſe that enterpriſing prince made of this promiſe, real or pretended, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee.

IN the mean time the Engliſh, and particularly earl Godwin, the moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had hopes of exalting his own ſon to the throne, became jealous of the preference ſhewn to foreigners, and openly revolted. The rebels were reduced; the eſtates of Godwin and his ſon were confiſcated; and they were obliged to flee the
A.D. 1053. realm. But they afterwards returned, and reduced the king to conditions; the moſt conſiderable of which was, that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom [6].

GODWIN's death, which happened ſoon after this treaty, prevented him from eſtabliſhing that authority which he had acquired at the expence of the crown. But his ſon Harold, who ſucceeded him in his eſtates and offices, and who, with an ambition equal to his father's, was ſuperior to him in addreſs and inſinuation, proved no leſs dangerous to the un-

6. R. Hoveden. Sim. Dunelm.

ſuſpecting

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ſuſpecting and unwarlike Edward, whoſe confidence he had obtained. And the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, while it enfeebled the royal authority, gave ſtill more conſequence to the ambitious Harold. Siward, beſides his loyalty, and exploits in behalf of the crown, had acquired honour to England, by his ſucceſsful conduct in the only foreign enterprize undertaken during this reign: and as it is connected with a memorable circumſtance in the hiſtory of a neighbouring kingdom, as well as with the intrigues of Harold, it doubly deſerves your attention. A.D. 1055.

DUNCAN, king of Scotland, a prince of a gentle diſpoſition, and ſome talents, but not poſſeſſed of ſufficient vigour to govern a turbulent nation, diſtracted by the animoſities of the great, had laid himſelf open to the deſigns of Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, nearly allied to the crown; and who, not contented with curbing the king's authority, carried yet farther his traiterous ambition. He murdered his ſovereign; uſurped the crown; and chaſed Malcolm Kenmure, the prince and heir, into England. Siward, whoſe daughter was married to Duncan, undertook, by Edward's orders, the protection of this unhappy family. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and reſtored Malcolm to the throne of his anceſtors. This ſervice, added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought great acceſſion to the authority of Siward in the North, and enabled him to be highly uſeful to Edward, in reſtraining the ambition of Godwin and his powerful family; but as he had loſt his eldeſt ſon Oſbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved eventually fatal to his houſe, and hurtful to the crown. The duke's ſecond ſon, Waltheof, appeared too young, on his father's death, to

be

PART I. be entruſted with the government of Northumberland; and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Toſti [7].

THERE are two anecdotes related of Siward, which ſtrongly mark his character, and are eminently expreſſive of that enthuſiaſm of valour, long ſo peculiar to the houſe of Northumberland. When informed of his ſon Oſbern's death, he was at firſt inconſolable; but enquiring how he fell, and being told that he behaved with great gallantry, and that his wound was in the *breaſt*, the feelings of the father ſeemed loſt in thoſe of the ſoldier: his grief was transformed into joy. "Would to God," exclaimed he, "that "I had as many ſons as I have hairs, that I might "loſe them thus!" And when he found his own death approaching, he ordered himſelf to be clothed in a complete ſuit of armour; and, ſitting erect on a couch, with a ſpear in his hand, "In this poſture," ſaid he, "the only one worthy of a warrior, I will "meet the tyrant: if I cannot conquer, I ſhall at "leaſt *face* the combat [8]!"

TOSTI behaved ſo tyrannically in his government of Northumberland, that the people roſe againſt him, and expelled him by force of arms; a circumſtance which contributed much to his brother's aggrandizement. Harold was appointed by the king to puniſh the Northumbrians, and advanced with an army for that purpoſe; but being met by a deputation from Morcar, who had been elected duke, and finding that Toſti had acted in a manner unworthy of his ſtation, he returned to the king, and generouſly perſuaded him not only to pardon the rebels, but even

7. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. Buchanan, lib. vii.
8. H. Hunting. lib. vi.

to

to confirm Morcar in the dukedom. He afterwards married the ſiſter of that nobleman, and got her younger brother, Edwin, elected into the government of Mercia. He alſo undertook an expedition againſt the Welſh, whom he obliged to receive Engliſh governors 9.

By theſe political and fortunate ſteps, Harold ſoon found himſelf in a condition openly to aſpire at the ſucceſſion. He had gained the affections of his countrymen by his lenity to the Northumbrians: he had raiſed their admiration of his valour, by his conqueſt of Wales; and ſo great was his influence, that he laid almoſt all England under the command of himſelf or his friends. His competitors for the ſucceſſion were Edgar Atheling, the ſole ſurviving heir to the crown, who had been recalled from Hungary, and William duke of Normandy, the king's couſin. But the firſt was a youth, whoſe imbecility was thought ſufficient to ſet him aſide, and the ſecond a foreigner. Edward's prepoſſeſſions hindered him from ſupporting the pretenſions of Harold, and his irreſolution from ſecuring the crown to the duke of Normandy, whom he ſecretly favoured: he therefore died without appointing a A. D. 1066. ſucceſſor, being worn out with age and infirmities, and more anxious about obtaining a heavenly, than ſettling his earthly inheritance.

Edward the Confeſſor was the firſt who *touched* for the ſcrophula, hence denominated the King's Evil. The opinion of his ſanctity procured belief, among the ſuperſtitious vulgar, to this mode of cure: and his ſucceſſors regarded it as a part of their royalty to ſupport the ſame idea. The practice was firſt dropt by the princes of the houſe of Brunſwic; who wiſely

9. Orderic. Vital.

conſidered,

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conſidered, that ſuch a pretenſion muſt be attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of cultivated minds, and even become the ſcorn of an enlightened populace. Poſterity are more indebted to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which, on account of their mildneſs, were long dear to our anceſtors.

THOUGH Edward left the ſucceſſion undecided, it did not long continue ſo: Harold immediately ſtepped into the vacant throne; and ſo well had he taken his meaſures, that his acceſſion was attended with as little oppoſition or diſturbance, as if he had ſucceeded by the moſt indiſputable hereditary title. The right of Edgar Atheling was ſcarce ever mentioned, and ſtill leſs the claim of the duke of Normandy: the whole nation ſeemed joyfully to ſwear allegiance to the new king [10].

THE firſt danger that Harold experienced was from abroad, and from his own brother. Toſti, when expelled the government of Northumberland, had ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in Flanders; but no ſooner was he informed of the acceſſion of Harold, to whoſe fortunate ambition he conſidered himſelf to have fallen a ſacrifice, than he entered into a league with Halfager king of Norway, who invaded England with a fleet of three hundred ſail. Toſti himſelf had collected about ſixty veſſels in the ports of Flanders, with which he put to ſea; and after committing ſome depredations on the ſouth and eaſt coaſts of England, he ſailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Halfager and his powerful armament. The combined fleets diſembarked their

10. Gul. Pict. Order. Vital.

troops

troops at the mouth of the Humber; and the earls of Northumberland and Mercia were defeated in attempting to oppoſe the invaders. LETTER XIX. A. D. 1066.

HAROLD was no ſooner informed of this diſaſter, than he haſtened to the North; anxious for the ſafety of his people, and ambitious to ſhew himſelf worthy of that crown which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen. The Engliſh flocked from all quarters to his ſtandard: ſo that when he reached the enemy, he found himſelf in a condition to give them battle. The two armies engaged at Standford. The action was long and bloody; but terminated in the total rout of the Danes, and in the death of Toſti and Halfager. Harold, however, had ſcarce time to rejoice on account of this victory, before he received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy was landed with a formidable force in the South, and determined to diſpute his crown.

THE Norman prince, whom I have already had occaſion to mention, both in the hiſtory of France and of England, founded his claim to the Engliſh crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confeſſor in his favour; which he ſeconded by an oath extorted from Harold, when ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of France, that he would never aſpire to the ſucceſſion, and by which he bound himſelf to ſupport the pretenſions of William. The will Harold knew to be without foundation, and the oath he entirely diſregarded, as it had both been drawn from him by the fear of violence, and was in itſelf unlawful; unleſs William had not only been appointed ſucceſſor by the king, but choſen by the people, the Anglo-Saxon government not being ſtrictly hereditary: he therefore replied to the Norman ambaſſadors, who ſummoned him to reſign the kingdom, that he was determined ſtrenuouſly to maintain

thoſe

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thoſe national liberties with which he had been intruſted, and that the ſame moment ſhould put a period to his life and his ſway [11].

THIS anſwer was no other than what William expected. He knew the valour of Harold, and the power of the Engliſh nation; but he conſulted only his ambition, and his courage. The boldneſs of the enterprize he thought would aſtoniſh the enemy, and inſpire his ſoldiers with reſolution from deſpair, as well as from a deſire of ſupporting the reputation of their countrymen; who had about this time revived their ancient fame, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, by the moſt hazardous exploits, and the moſt wonderful ſucceſſes, in the other extremity of Europe.

NOR were theſe the only foundation of William's hopes. A military ſpirit had univerſally diffuſed itſelf over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whoſe minds were elated by their princely ſituation, greedily embraced the moſt hazardous enterprizes, how little ſoever they might be intereſted in the failure or ſucceſs. Hence their paſſion for chivalry, and their ambition to outſhine each other in exertions of ſtrength or proweſs. William had long been diſtinguiſhed among thoſe haughty chieftains by his power, his courage, and his addreſs in all military exerciſes; and every one ambitious of acquiring renown in arms, repaired to the court of Normandy, where they were entertained with that hoſpitality and courteſy which diſtinguiſhed the age. The fame of the intended invaſion of England had been every where diffuſed: the more perilous the attempt appeared, the more it ſuited the genius of the times: multitudes of adventurers there-

11. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iii. Higden. Matth. Weſt.

fore

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fore crowded to tender their ſervice to William, impatient to acquire fame under ſo renowned a leader, or to ſupport, by new acts of valour, that reputation which they had already earned [12]; ſo that the duke's army conſiſted of the flower of all the warriors of the continent, determined to die or to conquer. A. D. 1066.

THE continental monarchs could ſurely have obſtructed thoſe ſupplies. But Philip I. of France, whoſe intereſt moſt it was, being a minor, Baldwin earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, who then held the reins of government, favoured the duke's levies (as I have had occaſion to obſerve) both in France and Flanders; and the emperor Henry IV. beſides giving all his vaſſals leave to embark in this expedition, which ſo much engaged the attention of Europe, promiſed his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the abſence of the duke, and thereby enabled him to draw his whole ſtrength to the attack of England.

BUT William's moſt important ally was pope Alexander II. who had a mighty influence over the warriors of that age; and who, beſides being flattered by an appeal which William had made to the court of Rome in favour of his undertaking, at a time when this pontiff wanted to be the arbiter of princes, foreſaw that if the French and Norman barons were ſucceſsful in their enterprize, they would import into England, which ſtill maintained ſome degree of independence in eccleſiaſtical matters, a more devoted reverence to the Holy See. He therefore declared immediately in favour of William's claim: pronounced Harold a perjured uſurper; denounced excommunica-

12. Gul. Pictav.

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tion againſt him and his adherents; and in order more particularly to encourage the duke, he ſent him a conſecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it [14]. Thus, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, all the ambition and violence of this invaſion were covered ſafely over with the broad mantle of religion.

THE Norman fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, and carried an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſelected by William from thoſe numerous ſupplies that courted his ſervice, had been aſſembled early in the ſummer, and put to ſea ſoon after; but being long detained by contrary winds, the troops began to imagine that Heaven had declared againſt them, and that, notwithſtanding the pope's benediction, they were deſtined to deſtruction. The wind, however, fortunately changed on the eve of the feaſt of St. Michael, the tutelar ſaint of Normandy; and the ſoldiers and their bold leaders, who had an equal contempt of real, and a dread of imaginary dangers, fancying they ſaw the hand of Providence in the cauſe of their former terrors, ſet out with the greateſt alacrity, and ſafely arrived at Pevenſey in Suſſex, where the troops quietly diſembarked. The duke himſelf had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped aſhore; a circumſtance which, conſidering the ſuperſtition of the times, might have been conſtrued to his diſadvantage, but which he had the preſence of mind to turn in his favour, by calling aloud, "I have "taken poſſeſſion of England!" and a ſoldier, running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked ſome thatch, which he preſented to his general, as giving him ſeiſin of the kingdom [15]. The confidence of William

14. Baker, *Chron.*

15. Order. Vital.

and

and his followers was now ſo great, that when they heard even of Harold's victory over the Danes, inſtead of being diſcouraged they ſeemed only to long, with more impatience, for the arrival of the Engliſh army. LETTER XIX. A.D. 1066.

THEY had not long occaſion to wait. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invaſion, and haſtened by quick marches to meet his competitor. But on reviewing his forces, he found them much diminiſhed, though he had been reinforced with freſh troops from London and other places. His victory proved his ruin. Many of his braveſt officers, and veteran ſoldiers, fell in the action; ſome retired from fatigue, and others ſecretly withdrew from diſcontent, becauſe he had refuſed to diſtribute the Daniſh ſpoils among them: a conduct little ſuited to his uſual generoſity of temper, and which can only be accounted for from a deſire of eaſing his people in the war that hung over them from Normandy, and which he foreſaw muſt be attended with great expence.

FROM theſe and other circumſtances, Gurth the king's brother, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehenſions of the event; and repreſented to the king, That it would be better policy to prolong the war, than to riſk a general action, as the winter was approaching, when the enemy would ſuffer many hardſhips, while the Engliſh, better ſheltered, and becoming every day more incenſed againſt their invaders, would haſten from all quarters to his aſſiſtance, and render his army invincible; or, if he thought it neceſſary to hazard a battle, he ought at leaſt not to expoſe his perſon, that ſome reſource might ſtill be left for the liberty and independency of

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the kingdom. But Harold, deaf to all theſe arguments, rejected his brother's advice with diſdain; and elated with paſt proſperity, as well as ſtimulated by his native courage, replied, That he would give battle in perſon, and convince his ſubjects, that he was worthy of the crown which they had ſet upon his head[16].

WITH this reſolution he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp to Haſtings. He was even ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he ſent a meſſage to the duke of Normandy, offering him a ſum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without effuſion of blood; and William, not to be behind him in vaunting, commanded him to reſign the crown of England, to ſubmit their cauſe to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in ſingle combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would ſoon be the arbiter of all their differences[17].

BOTH armies now impatiently expected the awful deciſion; but night drawing on, it was deferred till morning. During this interval of darkneſs and ſuſpenſe, the ſcene was very different in the two camps: the Engliſh ſpent the night in riot and feaſting; the Normans, in prayer and preparations for battle. As ſoon as day began to appear, the duke aſſembled his principal officers, and made them a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. He next divided his army into three lines. The firſt conſiſted of archers and light-armed infantry; the ſecond was compoſed of his braveſt battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in cloſe order. The cavalry, at the head of which William placed himſelf, formed the third line, and were ſo diſpoſed, that they ſtretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each

Oct. 15.

16. Order. Vital. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iii. 17. Higden.

wing

wing of the army. He commanded the ſignal to be given; and the whole army, moving at once, and ſinging the celebrated Song of Roland, the fabulous nephew, but renowned captain of Charlemagne, advanced in order of battle [18]. LETTER XIX. A.D. 1066.

HAROLD, whoſe army was inferior to William's, in numbers as well as in diſcipline, had ſeized the advantage of a riſing ground; and having drawn ſome trenches to ſecure his flanks, ſeemed inclined to act upon the defenſive, and to avoid all encounter with the cavalry, in which his ſtrength was very unequal. The Kentiſh men were placed in the front, a poſt which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the ſtandard; and the king, diſmounting, placed himſelf in the centre, at the head of his infantry, expreſſing his reſolution to conquer or die. The firſt attack of the Normans was terrible: their archers ſorely galled their opponents; and, as the Engliſh ranks were cloſe, the arrows did great execution. But Harold's army received the ſhock undiſmayed; and after a furious ſtruggle, which long remained undecided, the Normans began to give ground. Confuſion was ſpreading from rank to rank; when William, who found himſelf on the brink of ruin, haſtened with a ſelect band to the relief of his broken forces. His preſence reſtored the battle. The Engliſh were obliged to retire in their turn; but the duke finding that they ſtill made a vigorous reſiſtance, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their valiant prince, ordered his troops to make a haſty retreat, and allure the enemy from their ſtation by the appearance of flight. The artifice ſucceeded. Impelled by the enthuſiaſm of valour, and the heat of action, the troops of Harold precipi-

18. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iii. Du Cang. *Gloſſ.* in Verb. *Cant. Roland.*

PART I. A. D. 1066.

tantly followed the Normans into the plain; while William inſtructed his infantry at once to face about on their purſuers, and the cavalry to make an aſſault upon their wing. The Engliſh were thrown into diſorder, and driven back with loſs to the hill; where being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were again able to maintain the combat. William tried the ſame ſtratagem a ſecond time, and with equal ſucceſs: yet, after all, he ſtill found a large body of the Engliſh forces that remained firm around their prince, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the field to the laſt man; when fortune decided a victory, which valour had left doubtful. Harold was ſhot in the brains by an arrow, while bravely fighting at the head of his troops. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, alſo were ſlain; and the Engliſh army, diſpirited by the loſs of its leaders, gave way on all ſides, and was purſued with great ſlaughter by the victorious Normans [19].

THUS, my dear Philip, was gained by William the Norman, afterwards ſurnamed the Conqueror, the famous battle of Haſtings, fought from morning to ſun-ſet, which terminated the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England; and which, by the heroic feats of valour diſplayed on both ſides, by both armies and both commanders, ſeemed worthy to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. Fifteen thouſand of the Normans fell, and a much greater number of the Engliſh [20].— But we muſt take a view of the other nations of Europe, and alſo throw a glance on thoſe of Aſia and Africa, before I conſider the conſequences of this victory, and the influence of the revolution by which it was followed, upon the laws, government, and

19. Gul. Malmeſ. ubi ſup. Gul. Pict. H. Hunting. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

20. Gul. Gemet. chap. xxxvi.

manners of England. In the mean time, however, it will not be improper to take a ſlight ſurvey of the ſtate of England at the Norman conqueſt. LETTER XIX.

POSTSCRIPT.

NO territory of ſo ſmall an extent has ever ſo much engaged the attention of mankind, for ſo long a ſeries of ages, as the iſland of Britain. From the moſt remote antiquity it was viſited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions. The Romans, in the height of their power, made themſelves maſters of the ſouthern part of it, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure: and they thought the acquiſition of ſufficient importance, to preſerve their footing in this diſtant and tranſmarine province for three hundred years, by maintaining in it a great naval and military force. The ancient Britons loſt their courage and their independent ſpirit under the Roman dominion, but received from their enlightened governors, ſome knowledge of arts and letters[21]. The Saxons, in atchieving their ſanguinary conqueſt, deſtroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced into the iſland, without bringing along with them one peaceful art, with which the Britons were not better acquainted; and the inveterate wars between the princes of the Heptarchy afterwards obſtructed, among their people, the uſual progreſs of civilization. But no ſooner was England united into one kingdom, under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to be cultivated in a country ſo highly favoured by nature; abounding in the materials of induſtry, and ſurround-

21. If the Britons had any knowledge of letters before the arrival of the Romans, that knowledge was confined chiefly, if not ſolely to their prieſts, the myſterious Druids.

PART I. ed on three ſides by the ſea, which forms on its coaſts many commodious bays and ſafe harbours[22].

THE commerce and navigation of the Anglo-Saxons, however, was cruelly injured by the piracy and predatory invaſions of the Danes: yet did England, under their government, contain many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns and in the country, than could have been expected in ſuch a turbulent and hoſtile period. London, York, Briſtol[23], Exeter, and Norwich, were great and populous cities; and as the labours of huſbandry were chiefly performed by ſlaves or villains, who were excluded from military ſervice, the number of freemen in England, habituated to the uſe of arms, if not greater, muſt have been as great, at the Norman invaſion, as in any former or ſubſequent period[24]. But let us not hence conclude, That ſixty thouſand

22. The principal Engliſh exports, during the Anglo-Saxon times, were tin, lead, wool, hides, horſes, and *ſlaves!*—Theſe ſlaves conſiſted not ſolely of ſuch unhappy perſons as the laws of war, or other cauſes, had reduced to the condition of perpetual ſervitude. The Anglo-Saxons are accuſed, by cotemporary writers, of making merchandiſe even of their neareſt relations; "a cuſtom," adds a reſpectable hiſtorian, who lived after the Norman conqueſt, "which pre-"vails in Northumberland, even in our own days." Gul. Malmeſ. lib. i.

23. The Briſtol traders were diſtinguiſhed, even in thoſe early ages, by their mercantile ſagacity. "The people of this town," ſays an author of undoubted veracity, "were cured of a moſt odious and in-"veterate cuſtom by Wulfſtan," biſhop of Wincheſter at the Norman conqueſt, "*of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting* "*them for the ſake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child,* "*and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better* "*price!*" *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

24. To that exemption from ruſtic labour, which was friendly to the uſe of arms, may alſo perhaps be aſcribed the diſſolute manners of the Anglo-Saxons. Unleſs when employed in war or hunting, their whole time was ſpent in drinking and feaſting. This licentious life ſeems to have much impaired the native courage of the Engliſh nation, before the Daniſh conqueſt. The wars which introduced and accompanied

thouſand men, under an experienced leader, have at all times been ſufficient to overturn the conſtitution of this vigorous kingdom. William was ultimately indebted for his good fortune, leſs to the raſhneſs of the Engliſh monarch, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unſettled ſtate of the ſucceſſion to the crown. Harold had owed his exaltation to the throne, as much to fear as affection; and, on his death, the Engliſh nobility, who had borne with impatience the ſway of an equal, naturally looked up to his conqueror and competitor, the kinſman of their ancient princes, as their ſovereign, their head, and centre of union. The duke of Normandy, at Haſtings, had triumphed over their elected king, but not over their liberties. Theſe they imprudently put into his hands, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, in hopes that he would not abuſe their generoſity, when reſiſtance, and even vengeance was in their power.

panied that conqueſt, revived their martial ſpirit; and, under the Daniſh princes, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have emulated their conquerors in all acts of proweſs and valour. But both were alike given to long and exceſſive drinking, in large ſocieties or clubs: and the Danes added to this convivial intemperance an inordinate paſſion for women; in which they ſeem to have gloried, and often gratified in a manner ſhocking to humanity. Violence, in love, was with them as common as in war. Yet they ſometimes made uſe of other means to accompliſh their purpoſe: they affected gallantry; and, by their attention to dreſs and cleanlineſs, are ſaid to have ſeduced many Engliſh wives. That cleanlineſs however, by which they were diſtinguiſhed, conſiſted only in combing their hair once a day, and waſhing themſelves once a week. Wallingford. ap. Gale, tom. i. Gul. Malmeſ. lib. ii. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

The manners of the Welſh, in this dark period, muſt have been even leſs delicate than thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons; for they thought it neceſſary, we find, to make a law, That none of the *courtiers* ſhould *give* the *queen* a *blow*, or *ſnatch* any thing *violently* out of her *hands*, under *penalty* of *forfeiting Her Majeſty's protection*. (Leg. Wallicæ, p. 11.) And if any woman brought an action for a rape, which was denied by the man, ſhe was ordered to take hold of the culprit by the offending part, with her left hand, and to lay the right on the holy reliques; and, in that poſition, to make oath of the violation of her perſon—*quod is per vim ſe iſto membro vitiaverit.* Ibid. p. 80.

LETTER XX.

Spain, the Arabs, and the Empire of Constantinople, during the ninth, tenth, and Part of the eleventh Century.

SPAIN.

LETTER XX.
A.D. 768.

THE death of Abdurrhaman, the Mooriſh king, whom we have ſeen reign with ſo much luſtre at Cordova, was followed by diſſentions among his children, which procured ſome relief to the Spaniſh Chriſtians. The little kingdom of the Aſturias, or of Leon and Oviedo, as it was afterwards called, founded by Pelagius, increaſed under Alphonſo III. ſurnamed the Great, on account of his wiſdom and valour. Garcias Ximenes, deſcended from the ancient Spaniards, had alſo founded, in 758, the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the moſt conſiderable Chriſtian principalities in Spain.

THE Moors however ſtill poſſeſſed Portugal, Murcia, Andaluſia, Valentia, Granada, Tortoſa, and the interior part of the country, as far as the mountains of Caſtile and Saragoſſa; more than three-fourths of Spain, and the moſt fertile provinces. Among them, as in the other nations of Europe, a crowd of too powerful nobles affected independency, and the ſovereign was obliged to contend with his ſubjects for dominion. This was the time to have cruſhed the Mahometan power; but the Spaniſh Chriſtians were not more united than their enemies. Though continually at war with the Moors, they were always deſtroying each other. The reign of Alphonſo the Great was full of conſpiracies and revolts: his own wife and his two ſons were among the number of the rebels.

rebels. He reſigned his crown to Garcias the eldeſt: he even generouſly fought under his command; and died in 912, with the glory of a hero, and the piety of a ſaint[1]. LETTER XX. A. D. 912.

RAMIRO II. king of Leon and Oviedo, another Spaniſh hero, gained in 938, the celebrated victory of Simancas, where the Moors are ſaid to have loſt four-ſcore thouſand men. He had promiſed to St. James, in a pilgrimage to Compoſtella, That, if he was victorious, all his ſubjects ſhould offer annually a certain meaſure of wheat to the church of that ſaint. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the alarm to battle among the Spaniards. A. D. 938.

MEN are chiefly indebted for all their heroic atchievements to their paſſions; hence nothing is ſo irreſiſtible as the valour inſpired by enthuſiaſm, while it laſts. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors, and long the companion of victory. Mahomet Almanzor however, the celebrated general, and prime miniſter of Hiſſem king of Cordova, found means, by another artifice, to turn the tide of ſucceſs. Seeing his troops begin to fly, in a battle fought on the banks of the river Ezla, he diſmounted from his horſe; ſat down on the field; threw his turban on the ground; and, laying his arms acroſs his breaſt, declared he would in that poſture meet his fate, ſince he was abandoned by his army. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect: his troops returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The Moors became ſenſible that they could conquer in ſpite of St. James; and the Chriſtians, in their turn, trembled at the name of Almanzor. A. D. 995.

1. Ferreras. Mariana.

THAT

PART I.

THAT great man, who was no leſs a politician than a warrior, is ſaid to have vanquiſhed the Chriſtian princes in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by aſſault; ſacked Compoſtella; pillaged the church of St. James, and carried the gates in triumph, on the ſhoulders of his army, to Cordova. This triumph proved his ruin. A flux breaking out among his troops, the Chriſtians conſidered that diſtemper as a puniſhment inflicted by St. James: the flame
A. D. 998. of enthuſiaſm rekindled, and Almanzor was defeated. But what was infinitely more advantageous to the Chriſtians, as well as more fatal to himſelf, he was ſo much aſhamed of his misfortune, that he would neither eat nor drink, and obſtinately periſhed of hunger [2].

ABOUT the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrhaman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was diſmembered, by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who all uſurped the title of king. Toledo, Valentia, Seville, Saragoſſa, and almoſt all the great cities, had their independent ſovereigns. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the ſame manner among the Chriſtians; who had a king of Leon, of Navarre, of Caſtile, of Arragon: and Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of
A. D. 1034. Navarre, was ſo imprudent as to ſubdivide his dominions amongſt his four ſons. Perpetual jealouſies, with all the crimes that accompany them, were the conſequence of theſe diviſions of territory; treachery, poiſonings, aſſaſſinations! the common weapons of petty neighbouring and rival princes, who have much ambition and ſmall means of gratifying it. Hence the hiſtory of Spain becomes always leſs important, in proportion to the increaſe of the kingdoms. One

2. Rod. Tolet. de *Reb. Hiſp. Annal. Compoſtel.*

circumſtance,

circumſtance, however, merits our attention, both on account of its nature and its ſingularity. LETTER XX.

In this dark and oppreſſive period, when the commonalty all over Europe were either degraded to a ſtate of actual ſlavery, or in a condition little more to be envied, the people of Arragon ſhared the government with their ſovereign. The repreſentatives of cities and towns had a place in their Cortes, or national aſſembly. But the Arragonians, not ſatisfied with this check on the royal prerogative, nor willing to truſt the preſervation of their liberties ſolely to their repreſentatives, elected a Juſtiza, or grand judge, who was the ſupreme interpreter of the laws, and whoſe particular buſineſs it was to reſtrain the encroachments of the crown, and protect the rights of the ſubject. He was choſen from among the cavelleros, or ſecond order in the ſtate, anſwering to our gentlemen commoners, that he might be equally intereſted in curbing the oppreſſive ſpirit of the nobles, and ſetting bounds to the ambition of the prince. His perſon was ſacred, and his juriſdiction almoſt unbounded: his power was exerted in ſuperintending the adminiſtration of government, no leſs than in regulating the courſe of juſtice. He had a right to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution:—and he could, by his ſole authority, exclude any of the king's miniſters from the management of affairs, and call them to anſwer for their conduct while in office. He himſelf was anſwerable to the Cortes alone.

The juſtiza had alſo the ſingular privilege of receiving the coronation oath, in the name of the people; when, holding a naked ſword oppoſite to the king's heart, he repeated theſe remarkable words:

"We,

PART I. "We, who are your equals, make you our ſovereign, "and promiſe obedience to your government, on "condition that you maintain our rights and liber-"ties; if not—not!" And it was accordingly an eſtabliſhed maxim in the conſtitution of Arragon, that if the king ſhould violate his engagements, it was lawful for the people to depoſe him, and to elect another in his ſtead [3].

The EMPIRE *of the* ARABS.

FROM the Arabs in Spain, we paſs naturally to thoſe of Aſia, and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The great empire of the Arabs, as well as its branches, had experienced thoſe revolutions, which war and diſcord naturally produce, and which ſooner or later overturn the beſt founded governments. The glory of the califat was obſcured towards the end of the ninth century. Under weak or wicked princes, the African governors ſhook off their allegiance. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed particular ſtates. Religious quarrels augmented thoſe of ambition. The Fattimides, a Mahometan ſect, flamed with all the fury
A.D. 969. of fanaticiſm. They founded an empire in Egypt, from which they expelled the race of Abbas; and Cairo, the capital of that empire, became the ſeat of a new calif, and a flouriſhing city of commerce.

ANOTHER fanatical ſect, perſuaded that the abuſes introduced into the religion of Mahomet required reformation, delivered themſelves up to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, and acquired ſtrength by being perſecuted. They revolted, obtained ſeveral victories, and ſeized the weſtern coaſts of Africa; where their chief, like the other califs, uniting the royalty with the

3. Zurit. *Annal de Arag.* Hier. Blanca, *Comment. de Rer. Arag.*

prieſthood,

prieſthood, governed his new empire under the name of Miramoulin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title implying his claim to the califat.

OTHER circumſtances conſpired to diſmember the empire of the Arabs. The califs of Bagdat had received into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. Theſe auxiliaries, on account of their valour, were ſoon employed as the royal guard, and ſubjected thoſe whom they were hired to protect. They took advantage of the civil wars raiſed againſt the califat, to make themſelves lords of Aſia: they ſtript the califs, by degrees, of the ſovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate, which they revered; prudently ſubmitting themſelves to the religion of the country, and kneeling to the prieſt while they deſpoiled the king [4].

A VARIETY of ſovereigns ſprung up under the name of Sultans, who were inveſted with their dominions by the califs, but took care to leave them very little authority; ſo that the ſucceſſors of Mahomet found themſelves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the ſame ſituation with thoſe of St. Peter under the firſt German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the ſame time, whoſe power declined in proportion to the increaſe of their vaſſals.

The EMPIRE *of* CONSTANTINOPLE.

WHILE the empire of the Arabs was thus overturned, and that of Charlemagne falling to pieces, the empire of Conſtantinople, to borrow a ſimile from Voltaire, ſtill ſtood like a large tree, vigorous though old, ſtript of its branches, ſome of its roots, and buf-

4. Leunclav. *Annal.* Turcici Georg. Elmacin. *Hiſtor. Saracenica.*

feted

PART I. feted on every ſide by ſtorms and tempeſts. Though much circumſcribed on the eaſtern frontier, it yet extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſaly, Thrace, Illyricum: it was contracted indeed, but not diſmembered; often changing its emperors, but always united under the perſon who ſwayed the ſceptre. How unworthy, in general, of the imperial dignity! and what a people had they to govern!

NICEPHORUS, whom we have ſeen dethrone Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the iſle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, the ſcourge of Thrace, took him priſoner, after having cut off his army, beheaded him, and threw his body to the beaſts of the field, while they made a drinking-cup of his ſkull [5].

A. D. 811.

STAURACUS, the ſon of Nicephorus, rendered himſelf ſo odious in the beginning of his reign, that he was abandoned by his people, and obliged to become a monk.

MICHAEL RANGABUS refuſed to make peace with the Bulgarians, becauſe a monk declared, that he could not, in conſcience, deliver up the deſerters. In conſequence of this refuſal, the Greeks were defeated by the Bulgarians: the emperor betook himſelf to flight; and the officers, incenſed at his behaviour, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

LEO attempted to aſſaſſinate the king of the Bulgarians; who, in revenge, pillaged the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. The emperor could conceive nothing more effectual to ſave the ſtate, than the extirpation of idolatry; that is to ſay, the abolition of images.

5. Theophan.

He

He accordingly commanded a new perſecution; and eight hundred and twenty perſons were maſſacred in one church. LETTER XX.

MICHAEL the Stammerer, the ſucceſſor of Leo, at firſt tolerated the worſhip of images. But he afterwards changed his ſyſtem: he perſecuted thoſe whom he had formerly protected, and would even have had the ſabbath obſerved, and the paſſover celebrated in the manner of the Jews. The Saracens took advantage of his weakneſs to make themſelves maſters of the iſle of Crete, now Candia: they alſo A. D. 823 conquered almoſt all Sicily, and ravaged Apulia and Calabria [6].

DURING the reign of Theophylus, though more worthy of the imperial throne, the perſecution was redoubled, and the Saracens extended their conqueſts. But after his death, the empreſs Theodora, governing during the minority of Michael III. re-eſtabliſhed the worſhip of images, as Irene had formerly done. Afterwards, deſirous to convert the Manicheans by terror, ſhe cauſed them to be deſtroyed in thouſands. Thoſe who eſcaped, went over to the Bulgarians, and the empire was obliged to contend with its own ſubjects. Michael confined Theodora in a convent; and delivering himſelf up to all manner of crimes, carried his impiety ſo far, as to ſport with the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies. He was aſſaſſinated by Baſil, A. D. 867. whom he had aſſociated in the empire, and imprudently would have depoſed.

BASIL, originally a beggar, now found himſelf emperor. He is celebrated for his juſtice and huma-

6. Cerdem.

nity;

PART I. nity; but he was a dupe to the patriarch Photius, whom he favoured with his confidence, even after he had exiled him. His reign is the æra of the grand ſchiſm, which for ever divided the Greek and Latin churches.

THIS ſchiſm, which took its riſe from a jealouſy between the primates of the Eaſt and Weſt, was brought to a criſis by the converſion of the Bulgarians. As Bulgaria had formerly belonged to the Eaſtern empire, it was diſputed, whether the new Chriſtians ought to be ſubject to the pope, or to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. A variety of other reaſons were aſſigned for the ſquabble that followed; but this is the true one, and the only one which it is neceſſary
A. D. 879. for you to know. The council of Conſtantinople gave judgment in favour of the patriarch; but the pope's legates proteſted againſt the deciſion. New circumſtances widened the breach. The two primates excommunicated each other; and although the quarrel was ſometimes moderated by the mediation of the emperors, it was never made up. The ſchiſm continued.

THE Saracens took Syracuſe, while Baſil was employed in founding a church; and his ſon Leo compoſed ſermons, while the empire was ravaged on all ſides. Leo, however, is ſtyled the Philoſopher; becauſe he loved learning, and favoured learned men, not from being an Alfred or a Marcus Aurelius.

A. D. 912. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Leo, merits the eulogies beſtowed on him, as a protector of the ſciences, which he himſelf cultivated with ſucceſs. Men of the firſt rank taught philoſophy, geometry, and rhetoric, at Conſtantinople, during

during his reign, which commenced in 912, and ended in 959. But the affairs of the empire were not conducted better than formerly. LETTER XX. A. D. 959.

THEY were ſtill worſe conducted under Romanus, the ſon of Conſtantine, who poiſoned his father, and was the tyrant of his people.

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS had the honour of vanquiſhing the Saracens, and of recovering from them Crete, Antioch, and other places. His avarice and tyranny, however, made him deteſted: his own wife joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and he was murdered in bed. A. D. 961.

JOHN ZIMISCES, one of the aſſaſſins, ſeized the empire, and delivered it from the Roſſi, or Ruſſians, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements. This brave prince was poiſoned by the eunuch Baſil, his chamberlain; who, notwithſtanding, preſerved his credit under Baſil II. grandſon of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus. A. D. 969. A. D. 975.

BASIL was a warrior, but a barbarous one. Having vanquiſhed the Bulgarians, he cauſed the eyes of five thouſand priſoners to be put out. His ſubjects, loaded with taxes, could not enjoy his triumphs. He fought for himſelf, not for them. His death was followed by a train of the blackeſt crimes of which we have any example in hiſtory. A. D. 1014.

THE princeſs Zoe, daughter of Conſtantine, the brother and colleague of Baſil, had eſpouſed Romanus Argyropulus, who was proclaimed emperor. Zoe afterwards became enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, a man of low birth. She poiſoned her huſband, A. D. 1028.

PART I. in order to give the throne to her lover; but the poiſon
A. D. 1034. not operating quick enough, ſhe cauſed Argyropulus to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Conſtantinople at firſt ſcrupled to marry the empreſs to Michael. But a ſum of money quieted his conſcience, and the imperial crown followed the ſanction of the church.

THE emperor Paphlagonotus, a prey to diſeaſes
A. D. 1041. and remorſe, died in the habit of a monk; and Zoe gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, the ſon of a caulker, or cobler of ſhips, by a ſiſter of the other Michael, hoping that he would be the ſlave of her will. But the new emperor, jealous of his power, put her in confinement. The people revolted: they releaſed the empreſs and her ſiſter Theodora, and put out the eyes of Calaphates.

THE two ſiſters reigned together a year, and employed themſelves only about trifles. The people
A. D. 1042. would have a prince; and Zoe, at laſt, married Conſtantine Monomachus, one of her ancient lovers, who was crowned. This upſtart emperor neglected his wife for a young miſtreſs. The Greeks, incenſed at his conduct, ſeized him in a proceſſion, and declared they would only obey two empreſſes. He would have been cut in pieces, if the princeſſes had not interpoſed.

MONOMACHUS augmented the miſeries of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces had been exempted from taxes, on condition that they ſhould defend themſelves againſt the Barbarians. The emperor pretended that he would defend them, and made them pay like the reſt of the empire[7]: but

7. Ibid. See alſo Curpolatus and Leo Grammaticus.

they

they were poorly defended, notwithſtanding the taxes. LETTER XX.

THESE particulars will be ſufficient to enable you to judge of the ſtate of Conſtantinople. If at any time we find an able and warlike prince there, we always find the ſame reigning ſpirit of ſuperſtition and rebellion. Iſaac Comnenus, one of the beſt Greek emperors, proclaimed in 1057, made himſelf hated by the monks, becauſe he applied to the public exigencies the ſuperflux of their wealth. Lamed by a fall from his horſe, he gave himſelf up to devotion; reſigned his crown in favour of Conſtantine Ducas, and took the habit of a monk. A. D. 1059

DUCAS, too much a friend to peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three ſons emperors, and left the regency to their mother Eudoxia, exacting from her a promiſe that ſhe would never marry: and this promiſe he obliged her to confirm in writing. Eudoxia, however, ſoon reſolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom ſhe had condemned to die, but whoſe fine perſon ſubdued her heart. Her promiſe, depoſited in the hands of the patriarch, now gave her much uneaſineſs. In order to recover it, ſhe artfully pretended to have fixed her choice on the patriarch's kinſman. This amorous deceit had the deſired effect. The writing was reſtored; and the empreſs, abſolved from her promiſe of widowhood, did not fail to take advantage of her releaſe. She immediately married Romanus, and procured him the empire [8]. A. D. 1068

COULD ignorant ſavages have acted more abſurdly? or ruffians amenable to public juſtice more atrociouſly?

8. Anna Comnena. Nicetas.

PART I. —Yet the Greeks were ſtill the moſt learned and poliſhed people in Europe; and Conſtantinople, notwithſtanding all its misfortunes, its revolutions and crimes, having never felt the deſtructive rage of the Barbarians, was the largeſt and moſt beautiful European city, and the only one where any image of ancient manners or arts remained.

THUS, my dear Philip, we rapidly traverſe the wilds of hiſtory; where the objects are confuſed, rude, and unintereſting. But theſe firſt ſtages are neceſſary, in order to arrive at more cultivated fields. We ſhall ſoon meet with a new ſet of objects, equally various and important: and then more leiſure and attention will be required. In the mean time we muſt take a review of paſt ages.

LETTER XXI.

The Progreſs of Society in EUROPE, *from the Settlement of the Modern Nations, to the Middle of the Eleventh Century.*

LETTER XXI. I HAVE already given you an account of the Syſtem of Policy and Legiſlation eſtabliſhed by the Barbarians, or northern nations, on their firſt ſettlement in the provinces of the Roman empire[1]: and I have endeavoured, in the courſe of my narration, to trace the progreſs of ſociety, as it regards religion, laws, government, manners, and literature. But as the hiſtory of the human mind is of infinitely more importance than the detail of events, this letter ſhall be entirely devoted to ſuch circumſtances as tend more par-

1. Letter II.

ticularly

ticularly to throw light upon that ſubject. I ſhall alſo purſue the ſame method, at different intervals, during the ſubſequent part of your hiſtorical ſtudies.

THOUGH the northern invaders wanted taſte to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered. And the mild and benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity would doubtleſs have ſoftened their ſavage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous ſuperſtition; which, mingling itſelf with the Chriſtian principles and ceremonies, produced that abſurd mixture of violence, devotion, and folly, which has ſo long diſgraced the Romiſh church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Chriſtianity was a loſer, by the converſion of the Barbarians. They rather changed the object, than the ſpirit of their religion.

THE Druids among the Gauls and Britons, and the Prieſts among the ancient Germans, and all the nations of Scandinavia, poſſeſſed an abſolute dominion over the minds of men. Theſe people, after embracing Chriſtianity, retained their veneration for the prieſthood: and unhappily the clergy of thoſe times had neither virtue enough to preſerve them from abuſing, nor knowledge ſufficient to enable them to make a proper uſe of their power. They favoured the ſuperſtitious homage; and ſuch of the Barbarians as entered into holy orders, carried their ignorance and their original prejudices along with them.

THE Chriſtian emperors of Rome and Conſtantinople had enriched the church: they had laviſhed on it privileges and immunities; and theſe ſeducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of diſcipline, and the introduction of diſorders,

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more or leſs hurtful, which had altered the ſpirit of the goſpel. Under the dominion of the Barbarians the degeneracy increaſed, till the pure principles of Chriſtianity were loſt in a groſs ſuperſtition; which, inſtead of aſpiring to virtuous ſanctity, the only ſacrifice that can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by the ſame means that ſatisfied the juſtice of men, or by thoſe employed to appeaſe their fabulous deities [2].

As the puniſhments due for all civil crimes, among the northern conquerors, might be bought off by money, they attempted, in like manner, to bribe Heaven, by benefactions to the church, to ſet aſide all future inqueſt. And the more they gave themſelves up to their brutal paſſions, to rapine and to violence, the more profuſe they were in this ſpecies of good works. They ſeem to have believed, ſays the Abbé de Mably, that avarice was the firſt attribute of the Divinity, and that the ſaints made a traffic of their influence and protection. Hence the *bon mot* of Clovis: "St. Martin ſerves his friends very well; "but he makes them pay ſoundly for his trouble!"

"Our treaſury is poor," ſaid Chilperic, the grandſon of Clovis; "our riches are gone to the church: "the biſhops are the kings!"—And indeed the ſuperior clergy, who, by the acquiſition of lands, added the power of fortune to the influence of religion, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and diſpoſed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the ſtate. There was a neceſſity of conſulting them, becauſe they poſſeſſed all the knowledge that then remained

2. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. ii.

in

in Europe: they only knew any thing. The acts of their councils were considered as infallible decrees, and they spoke usually in the name of God; but, alas! they were only men.

As the interest of the clergy clashed with that of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced new disorders. The priests made use of artifice against their powerful adversaries: they invented fables to awe them into submission; they employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; they changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas: the religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions, or to usurp those of others; and, like the heathen priests, whose pernicious influence was founded on the ignorance of the people, the Christian clergy sought to extend their authority by confining all knowledge to their own order. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences: truth was not permitted to see the light, and reason was fettered in the cell of superstition. Many of the clergy themselves could scarce read, and writing was chiefly confined to the cloisters[3]; where a blind and interested devotion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, held the quill, and where lying chronicles and fabulous legends were composed, which contaminated history, religion, and the principles and the laws of society.

Without arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principles, the European nations were all as barbarous

3. Persons who could not write made the sign of the cross, in place of their name, in confirmation of any legal deed. (Du Cange, Gloss. Voc. *Crux*.) Hence the phrase *signing*, instead of *subscribing* a paper.

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and wretched as they could poſſibly be, unleſs a miracle had been wrought for the diſgrace of humanity. Charlemagne indeed in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as you have had occaſion to ſee, endeavoured to diſpel this darkneſs, and tame their ſubjects to the reſtraints of law: and they were ſo fortunate as to ſucceed. Light and order diſtinguiſhed their reigns. But the ignorance and barbariſm of the age were too powerful for their liberal inſtitutions: the darkneſs returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than formerly, and ſettled over Europe, and ſociety again tumbled into chaos.

THE ignorance of the Weſt was ſo profound, during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy, who alone poſſeſſed the important ſecrets of reading and writing, became neceſſarily the arbiters and the judges of almoſt all ſecular affairs. They comprehended, in their juriſdiction, marriages, contracts, wills; which they took care to involve in myſtery, and by which they opened to themſelves new ſources of wealth and power[4]. Every thing wore the colour of religion: temporal and ſpiritual concerns were confounded, and from this unnatural mixture ſprung a thouſand abuſes. The hiſtory of thoſe ages forms a ſatire on the human ſoul; and on religion, if we ſhould impute it to the faults of its miniſters.

"REDEEM your ſouls from deſtruction," ſays St. Egidius, biſhop of Noyon, "while you have the "means in your power: offer preſents and tythes to "churchmen; come more frequently to church; "humbly implore the patronage of the ſaints; for if "you obſerve theſe things, you may come with ſe"curity in the day of the tribunal of the Eternal

4. Du Cange, voc. *Curia Chriſtian.* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* tom. xix. *Diſc. Prelim.*

"Judge,

"Judge, and ſay, Give us, O Lord, for we have "given unto thee[5]!"

In ſeveral churches of France a feſtival was celebrated in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt. It was called the Feaſt of the Aſs. A young girl richly dreſſed, with a child in her arms, was ſet upon an aſs ſuperbly capariſoned. The aſs was led to the altar in ſolemn proceſſion. High maſs was ſaid with great pomp. The aſs was taught to kneel at proper places; a hymn, no leſs childiſh than impious, was ſung in his praiſe: and when the ceremony was ended, the prieſt, inſtead of the uſual words with which he diſmiſſed the people, brayed three times like an aſs; and the people, inſtead of the uſual reſponſe, brayed three times in return[6].

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, but made ſmall progreſs till towards its cloſe. A ſcientifical jargon, a falſe logic, employed about words, without conveying any idea of things, compoſed the learning of thoſe times. It confounded all things, in endeavouring to analyſe every thing. As the new ſcholars were moſtly clergymen, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention; and as they neither knew hiſtory, philoſophy, nor criticiſm, their labours were as futile as their inquiries, which were equally diſgraceful to reaſon and religion. The conception of the bleſſed Virgin, and the digeſtion of the euchariſt, were two of the principal objects of their ſpeculation: and out of the laſt a third aroſe; which was, to know whether it was voided again[7]!

The diſorders of government and manners kept pace, as they always will, with thoſe of religion and learning. Theſe diſorders ſeem to have attained their

5. D. Specileg. *Vet. Script.* vol. ii. 6. Du Cange, voc. *Feſtum.*
7. *Hiſt. Literaire de France.*

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height about the middle of the tenth century. Then the feudal policy, the defects of which I have pointed out[8], was become univerſal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquiſes employed to guard the marches, and even the counts intruſted with the adminiſtration of juſtice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themſelves maſters of their duchies, marquiſates, and counties. The king indeed, as ſuperior lord, ſtill received homage from them for thoſe lands which they held of the crown; and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their aſſembled peers, and of confiſcating their eſtates in caſe of rebellion; but, in all other reſpects, they themſelves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their ſub-vaſſals, or ſubjects: they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war againſt their private enemies[9].

THE moſt frightful diſorders aroſe from this ſtate of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle; where the weak ſtruggled for freedom, and the ſtrong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle: they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians in their deſerts could not be leſs indebted to the laws of ſociety, than the Europeans, during the period under review. The people, the moſt numerous as well as the moſt uſeful claſs in the community, were either actual ſlaves, or expoſed to ſo many miſeries, ariſing from pillage and oppreſſion, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a

8. Letter II.

9. Du Cange, voc. *Feudum.*

voluntary

voluntary ſurrender of their liberty for bread and protection [10]. What muſt have been the ſtate of that government, where ſlavery was an eligible condition!

But conformable to the obſervation of the philoſophic Hume, there is a point of depreſſion, as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs ſeldom paſs, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progreſs. This utmoſt point of decline ſociety ſeems to have attained in Europe, as I have already ſaid, about the middle of the tenth century; when the diſorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taſte and manners conſequent upon theſe, were arrived at their greateſt exceſs. Accordingly from that æra, we can trace a ſucceſſion of cauſes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to aboliſh anarchy and barbariſm, and introduce order and politeneſs.

Among the firſt of theſe cauſes we muſt rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquiſitive Dr. Robertſon remarks, though commonly conſidered as a wild inſtitution, the reſult of caprice and the ſource of extravagance, aroſe naturally from the ſtate of ſociety in thoſe times, and had a very ſerious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal ſtate, as has been obſerved, was a ſtate of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were expoſed every moment to inſults or injuries. The power of the ſovereign was too limited to prevent theſe wrongs, and the legiſlative authority too feeble to redreſs them. There was ſcarce any ſhelter from violence and oppreſſion, ex-

10. Marculfus, lib. ii. cap. 8.

cept

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cept what the valour and generoſity of private perſons afforded: and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpleſs could appeal for juſtice. The trader could no longer travel in ſafety, or bring unmoleſted his commodities to market. Every poſſeſſor of a caſtle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured, but when abuſes grow to a certain height, the ſociety muſt reform or go to ruin. It becomes the buſineſs of all to diſcover, and to apply ſuch remedies as will moſt effectually remove the prevailing diſorders. Humanity ſprung from the boſom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Thoſe licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every ſpecies of outrage and every mode of oppreſſion; who, equally unjuſt, unfeeling, and ſuperſtitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged! who had maſſacred, and done penance! touched at laſt with a ſenſe of natural equity, and ſwayed by the conviction of a common intereſt, formed aſſociations for the redreſs of private wrongs, and the preſervation of public ſafety [11]. So honourable was the origin of an inſtitution generally repreſented as whimſical!

THE young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the firſt time, with certain ceremonies proper to inſpire martial ardour; but chivalry, conſidered as a civil and military inſtitution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous diſcipline and ſolemnities of

11. *Mem. ſur l'Ancienne Chevalrie*, par M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

initiation

initiation were many and ſingular [12]. Valour, humanity, courteſy, juſtice, honour, were the characteriſtics of that inſtitution: and to theſe were added religion; which, by infuſing a large portion of enthuſiaſtic zeal, carried them all to a romantic exceſs, wonderfully ſuited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greateſt and moſt permanent effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with leſs ferocity, when humanity, no leſs than courage, came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a diſtinction ſuperior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen; more gentle and poliſhed manners were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly vir-

12. The novice in chivalry was educated in the houſe of ſome knight, commonly a perſon of high rank, whom he ſerved firſt in the character of page, and afterwards of ſquire: nor was he admitted to the ſupreme honour of knighthood, until he had given many ſtriking proofs of his valour and addreſs. The ceremony of initiation was very ſolemn. Severe faſtings, and nights ſpent, in a church or chapel, in prayer; confeſſion of ſins, and the receiving of the ſacraments with devotion; bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems of that purity of manners required by the laws of chivalry, were neceſſary preparations for this ceremony. *Mem. ſur l'Anc. Chev.* &c.

When the candidate for knighthood had gone through all theſe, and other introductory formalities, he fell at the feet of the perſon from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his ſword. After anſwering ſuitable queſtions, the uſual oath was adminiſtered to him; namely, to ſerve his prince, defend the faith, protect the perſons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to reſcue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy perſons groaning under injuſtice or oppreſſion. Then the knights and ladies, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, adorned the candidate with the armour and enſigns of chivalry; beginning with putting on the ſpurs, and ending with girding him with the ſword. Seeing him thus accoutred, the king or nobleman, who was to confer the honour of knighthood, gave him the *accolade*, or dubbing, by three gentle ſtrokes with the flat part of his ſword on the ſhoulder, or with the palm of his hand on the neck, ſaying, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, "I make thee a knight! be thou loyal, brave, and hardy." Ibid.

tues,

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tues, and every knight devoted himſelf to the ſervice of ſome lady; and violence and oppreſſion decreaſed, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to puniſh them. A ſcrupulous adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly thoſe between the ſexes, as more eaſily violated, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a gentleman; becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour, and inculcated the moſt delicate ſenſibility with reſpect to that point [13]. And valour, ſeconded by ſo many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irreſiſtible.

THAT the ſpirit of chivalry often roſe to an extravagant height, and had ſometimes a pernicious tendency, muſt however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a ſeries of wild adventures, which have been deſervedly ridiculed: in the train of Norman ambition, it extinguiſhed the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we ſhall ſoon ſee it, at the call of ſuperſtition, and as the engine of papal power, deſolate Aſia under the banner of the croſs. But theſe violences, reſulting from accidental circumſtances, ought

13. This ſentiment became reciprocal. Even a princeſs, ſays Tirant le Blanc, declares, That ſhe ſubmits to loſe all right to the benefits of chivalry, and conſents that never any knight ſhall take arms in her defence, if ſhe keeps not the promiſe of marriage, which ſhe has given to the knight who adored her. And a young gentlewoman, whoſe defence was undertaken by Gerard de Nevers, beholding the ardour with which he engaged in it, took off her glove, we are told, and delivered it to him, ſaying, "Sir, my perſon, my life, my lands, "and my honour, I depoſit in the care of God and you; praying for "ſuch aſſiſtance and grace, that I may be delivered out of this peril." (M. de la Curne de St. Palaye, ubi ſup.) Many ſimilar examples might be produced of this mutual confidence, the baſis of that elegant intercourſe between the ſexes, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes modern from ancient manners.

not to be conſidered as arguments againſt an inſtitution laudable in itſelf, and neceſſary at the time of its eſtabliſhment. And they who pretend to deſpiſe it, the advocates of ancient barbariſm and ancient ruſticity, ought to remember, That chivalry not only firſt taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeneſs with the uſe of the ſword, but rouſed the human ſoul from its lethargy; invigorating the human character, even while it ſoftened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, That it gave variety and elegance, and communicated an increaſe of pleaſure, to the intercourſe of life, by making woman a more eſſential part of ſociety; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, ſhould be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

But the beneficial effects of chivalry were ſtrongly counteracted by other inſtitutions of a leſs ſocial kind. Some perſons of both ſexes, of moſt religions and moſt countries, have in all ages ſecluded themſelves from the world; in order to acquire a reputation for ſuperior ſanctity, or to indulge a melancholy turn of mind, affecting to hold converſe only with the Divinity. The number of theſe ſolitary devotees, however, in ancient times was few; and the ſpirit of religious ſeclusion, among the heathens, was confined chiefly to high ſouthern latitudes, where the heat of the climate favours the indolence of the cloiſter. But the caſe has been very different in more modern ages; for although the monaſtic life had its origin among the Chriſtians in Egypt, Syria, and Paleſtine, it rapidly ſpread not only over Aſia and Africa but alſo over Europe, and penetrated to the moſt remote corners

PART I. ners of the North and Weſt, almoſt at the ſame time that it reached the extremities of the Eaſt and South, to the great hurt of population and induſtry, and the obſtruction of the natural progreſs of ſociety [14].

NOR were theſe the only conſequences of the paſſion for pious ſolitude. As all who put on the religious habit, after the monaſtic ſyſtem was completely formed, took a vow of perpetual chaſtity, the commerce of the ſexes was repreſented by thoſe viſionaries as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian purity; and the whole body of the clergy, in order to preſerve their influence with the people, found themſelves under the neceſſity of profeſſing a life of celibacy. This condeſcenſion, which was juſtly conſidered as a triumph, increaſed the confidence of the monks, and augmented the number of their fraternities. Nothing was eſteemed ſo meritorious, as we have ſeen, during the period under review, as the building and endowing of monaſteries. And multitudes of men and women of all ranks, but eſpecially the higher, conſidering the pleaſures of ſociety as ſeducers to the pit of deſtruction, and turning with horror from ſenſual delight, retired to mountains and deſerts, or crowded into convents; where, under the notion of mortifying the body, and ſhutting all the avenues of the ſoul againſt the allurements of external objects, they affected an auſterity that gained them univerſal veneration, and threw a cloud over the manners of the Chriſtian world [15].

THE extravagance to which both ſexes are ſaid to have carried that auſterity, during the firſt fervours of monaſtic zeal, ſeems altogether incredible to cool

14. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. ii. et Auct. cit. in loc.
15. Id. ibid.

reaſon,

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reaſon, unenlightened by philoſophy. In attempting to ſtrip human nature of every amiable and ornamental quality, in order to humble pride, and repreſs the approaches of looſe deſire; or, in their own phraſe, "to deliver the *cæleſtial ſpirit* from the *bondage* of *fleſh* "and *blood*," they in a manner diveſted themſelves of the human character. They not only lived among wild beaſts, but after the manner of thoſe ſavage animals: they ran naked through the lonely deſerts with a furious aſpect, and lodged in gloomy caverns; or grazed in the fields, like the common herd, and like cattle took up their bed in the common air, expoſed to all the rigour of the ſeaſons [16]. And ſome monks and holy virgins, by the habit of going naked, became ſo completely covered with hair, as to require no other cloathing. Many choſe their rugged dwelling in the hollow ſide or narrow cleft of ſome rock; which obliged them to ſit or ſtand in the moſt painful and emaciating poſture, during the remainder of their wretched exiſtence; while others, with no ſmall exultation, uſurped the den of ſome ferocious brother brute, whom they affected to reſemble: and not a few, under the name of Stylites, or Pillar-ſaints, aſcended the top of ſome column, where they remained for years, night and day, without any ſhelter from inclemency of weather [17].

EVEN after religious houſes were provided for the devout ſolitaries of both ſexes, and endowed with ample revenues by the profuſe ſuperſtition of the newly converted barbarians, they attempted, in their ſeveral cells, to extinguiſh every ſpark of ſenſuality, by meagre faſtings, bloody flagellations, and other cruel auſterities of diſcipline, too ſhocking to bear a recital. But no ſooner did the monaſtic fury ſubſide,

16. Moſheim, vol. ii. Tillemont, *Mem. Eccleſ.* tom. viii.
17. Id. ibid.

PART I. than nature began to assert her empire in the hearts of the deluded fanatics; to tell them they had wants inconsistent with their engagements, and that, in abandoning society, they had relinquished the most essential requisities of human happiness. The holy sisters and brothers, convinced of their pious folly, endeavoured by tender familiarities to console each other; but without violating, as they affirmed, their vow of chastity [18]. And although this delectable commerce was prohibited [19], as alike scandalous and dangerous, by resembling too nearly the ways of the world, and provoking sensibilities too strong for the curb of restraining grace, other solacing practices took place in the convents, not more for the honour of the monastic life [20]. Whenever any set of people, by laying a constraint upon the natural appetites, seek to arrive at a degree of purity inconsistent with the welfare of society, they never fail to be guilty of crimes which society disclaims, and nature abhors; unless they relax the rigour of their institutions, or slide back, by a blameless corruption, into the more smooth but slippery paths of erring humanity.

THE ignorance of the times however, favoured by certain circumstances, continued the veneration for religious solitude, notwithstanding the licentiousness of the monks. Many new monastic orders were instituted in the eleventh century, under various modes of discipline; but all with a view to greater regularity of manners. And monks were called from the lonely

18. Mosheim, ubi sup.

19. The sixth general council (canon xlvii.) forbids women to pass the night in a male, or men in a female monastery. And the seventh general council (canon xx.) forbids the erecting of double, or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes. (Beveridge, tom. i.) On the irregular pleasures of the monks and nuns, see Thomassin, tom. iii.

20. Mosheim, vol. ii.

cell

bell to the moſt arduous and exalted ſtations; to fill the papal chair, and ſupport the triple crown; or to diſcharge the office of prime miniſter in ſome mighty kingdom, and regulate the intereſts of nations. Though utterly ignorant of public tranſactions, their reputation for ſuperior ſanctity, which was eaſily acquired, by real or affected auſterity, in ages of rapine and ſuperſtition, made them be thought fit to direct all things. This holy reputation even enabled them to trample upon the authority, and inſult the perſons of the princes whoſe government they adminiſtered; eſpecially if the lives of ſuch princes, as was very commonly the caſe, happened to be ſtained with any atrocious acts of luſt, violence, or oppreſſion. In order to ſtay the upliſted arm of divine juſtice, and render the Governor of the World propitious, the king knelt at the feet of the monk and the miſſionary! happy to commit to the favourite of Heaven the ſole guidance of his ſpiritual and temporal concerns [21]. And if chivalry, by awakening a ſpirit of enterpriſe, had not rouſed the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the paſſion for the ſofter ſex, by connecting it with arms, and ſeparating it from groſs deſire, Europe might have ſunk under the tyranny of a ſet of men, who pretend to renounce the

21. Beſides the wealth and influence acquired by the monks, in conſequence of the ſuperſtitious ignorance of the great, who often ſhared not only their power but the fruits of their rapine with their pious directors, a popular opinion (founded on a ſingular paſſage in the book of *Revelations*) which prevailed towards the cloſe of the tenth century, contributed greatly to augment their opulence. The thouſand years, from the birth or death of Chriſt, mentioned by St. John, were ſuppoſed to be nearly accompliſhed, and the Day of Judgment at hand. Multitudes of Chriſtians therefore, anxious only for their eternal ſalvation, delivered over to the monaſtic orders all their lands, treaſures, and other valuable effects, and repaired with precipitation to Paleſtine, where they expected the appearance of Chriſt on Mount Sion. Moſheim, vol. ii.

PART I. world and its affairs, and Chriſtendom have become but one great cloiſter.

LETTER XXII.

The GERMAN *Empire and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN *States, under* CONRAD II. *and his Deſcendants of the Houſe of* FRANCONIA.

LETTER XXII.

WE now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of hiſtory, which I ſhall endeavour to trace as exactly as poſſible, that you may be able to keep in view the train of events; without which, you will neither be able to reaſon diſtinctly on them yourſelf, nor to underſtand clearly the reaſonings of others. I ſhall therefore bring down the hiſtory of the German empire to the death of Henry V. when the quarrel between the popes and the emperors came to a ſtand, before I ſpeak of the affairs of France and England; which, from the Norman conqueſt, became inſeparably interwoven, but had little influence for ſome centuries on the reſt of Europe.

GREAT diſputes enſued on the death of Henry II. about the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the empire; that prince, as you have had occaſion to ſee, dying without iſſue. The princes and ſtates aſſembled in the open fields, between Mentz and Worms, no hall being ſufficient to hold them; and, after ſix weeks encampment and deliberation, they elected Conrad, duke A.D. 1024. of Franconia, ſurnamed the Salic, becauſe he was born on the banks of the river Sala [1].

1. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

THE

LETTER XXII.

THE Lombards revolting, as uſual, ſoon after the election of the new emperor, Conrad marched into Italy; and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, he went to Rome, where he was conſecrated and crowned by pope John XX. in preſence of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Rodolph III. king of Transjurane Burgundy. But his ſtay at Rome was ſhort. Scarce was the coronation over, when he was obliged to return to Germany, on account of ſome inſurrections raiſed in his abſence. He took the precaution however, before he attempted to humble the inſurgents, to get his ſon Henry, then about twelve years of age, declared his ſucceſſor, and ſolemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The rebellion was ſoon after ſuppreſſed by the valour of Conrad. He defeated the authors of it in ſeveral engagements; in one of which, Erneſt, duke of Suabia, who had been put to the ban of the empire, was ſlain [2]. A.D. 1027.

THE word *ban* originally ſignified banner, afterwards edict, and laſtly a declaration of outlawry, which was intimated thus: "We declare thy wife a "widow, thy children orphans; and ſend thee, in "the name of the devil, to the four corners of the "earth." This is one of the firſt examples of that proſcription.

THE emperor next turned his arms againſt the Poles, and afterwards againſt the Huns, and obliged both to ſubſcribe to his own conditions. In the mean time Rodolph, king of Transjurane Burgundy, dying without iſſue, left his dominions to Conrad. They were of ſmall extent, but included the ſeignioral ſuperiority over the Swiſs, the Griſons, Pro- A.D. 1034.

2. Heiſs, lib. ii.

PART I. vence, Franche-Compté, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphiné. Hence the lands on the other ſide of the Rhine are ſtill called the Lands of the Empire; and all the noblemen of thoſe cantons, who formerly held of Rodolph and his predeceſſors, now hold of the emperor [3].

WHILE Conrad II. was employed in taking poſſeſſion of his new inheritance, the Poles revolted: and this rebellion was no ſooner quelled than he had occaſion to compoſe another in Italy, headed by Hubert, biſhop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. Conrad made ſo much haſte, that Milan was taken by ſurpriſe. The biſhop was condemned
A. D. 1039. to perpetual baniſhment; and the emperor died ſoon after his return to Germany, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt, generous, and magnanimous prince [4].

HENRY III. ſurnamed the Black, ſon of Conrad and Giſella of Suabia, was elected in conſequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned a ſecond time at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The firſt years of Henry's reign were ſignalized by ſucceſsful wars againſt Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; which, however, produced no memorable event. Rome and Italy, as uſual, were involved in confuſion, and diſtracted by factions, particularly thoſe of the Pandolphi and the Ptolemei. The Pandolphi had thruſt Benedict IX. a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy. He was depoſed by the Ptolemei and the people, who ſubſtituted in his place Sylveſter III. This new pope was depoſed, in his
A. D. 1044. turn, by the Pandolphi, and his rival re-eſtabliſhed. Benedict, however, finding himſelf univerſally deſ-

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 4. Heiſs, lib. ii.

piſed,

piſed voluntarily reſigned in favour of John, archprieſt of the Roman church; but afterwards repenting of his reſignation, he wanted to reſume his dignity. LETTER XXII.

THESE three popes, ſupported by their ſeveral partizans, and living peaceably with each other, maintained themſelves each upon a different branch of the revenues of the Holy See. One reſided at St. Peter's, another at Santa Maria Major, and the third in the palace of the Lateran; all leading the moſt profligate and ſcandalous lives. A prieſt, called Gratian, at laſt put an end to this ſingular triumvirate. Partly by artifice, partly by preſents, he prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretenſions to the papacy; and the people of Rome, out of gratitude for ſo ſignal a ſervice to the church, choſe him pope, under the name of Gregory VI.

HENRY III. took umbrage at this election, in which he had not been conſulted, and marched with an army into Italy. No emperor ever exerciſed more abſolute authority in that country. He depoſed Gregory, as having been guilty of ſimony, and filled the papal chair with his own chancellor, Suidger or Heidiger, biſhop of Bamberg, who aſſumed the name of Clement II. and afterwards conſecrated at Rome Henry and the empreſs Agnes [5]. A.D. 1046.

THIS ceremony being over, and the Romans having ſworn never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning emperor, Henry proceeded to Capua, where he was viſited by Drago, Rainulphus, and other Norman adventurers; who, having left their country, namely the duchy of Normandy, at different times, had made themſelves maſters of A.D. 1047.

5. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1047.

great part of Apulia and Calabria, at the expence of the Greeks and Saracens. Henry entered into a treaty with them; and not only ſolemnly inveſted them with thoſe territories which they had acquired by conqueſt, but prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the Beneventines, who had refuſed to open their gates to him, and beſtowed that city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Norman princes, provided they took poſſeſſion by force of arms[6]. What uſe they made of the imperial favour, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee. At preſent the papacy claims all our attention.

THE emperor was ſcarce returned to Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. Clement was ſucceeded in the apoſtolic ſee by A. D. 1048. Damaſus II. who alſo dying ſoon after his elevation, Henry nominated Bruno, biſhop of Toul, to the vacant chair. This Bruno, who was the emperor's relation, immediately aſſumed the pontificals; but being a modeſt and pious prelate, he threw them off on his journey, by the perſuaſion of Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, afterwards the famous Gregory VII. and went to Rome as a private man. "The emperor "alone," ſaid Hildebrand, "has no right to create "a pope." He accompanied Bruno to Rome, and ſecretly retarded his election, that he might arrogate to himſelf the merit of obtaining it[7]. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himſelf indebted to Hildebrand for the pontificate, favoured him with his particular friendſhip and confidence: and hence originated the power of this enterprizing monk, of obſcure birth but boundleſs ambition, who ſo long governed Rome, and

6. *Hiſt. Conq. de Norm. Vit. Greg.* VII.

7. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. ii. Dithmar,

whoſe

whoſe zeal for the exaltation of the church occaſioned ſo many troubles to Europe. LETTER XXII.

Leo, ſoon after his elevation, waited on the emperor at Worms, to crave aſſiſtance againſt the Norman princes, who were become the terror of Italy, and treated their ſubjects with great ſeverity. Henry furniſhed the pope with an army; at the head of which His Holineſs marched againſt the Normans, after having excommunicated them, accompanied by a great number of biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics, who were all either killed or taken priſoners, the Germans and Italians being totally routed. Leo himſelf was led captive to Benevento, of which the Normans were now maſters, and which Henry had granted to the pope in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany: and the apoſtolic ſee is to this day in poſſeſſion of Benevento, by virtue of Henry's donation. The Norman chiefs, however, who had a right to that city by a prior grant, reſtored it, in the mean time, to the princes of Lombardy; and the Holy Father was treated with ſo much reſpect by the conquerors, that he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, and joined his ſanction to the imperial inveſtiture for the lands which they held in Apulia and Calabria[8]. A.D. 1053.

Leo died ſoon after his releaſe; and the emperor, about the ſame time, cauſed his infant ſon, afterwards the famous Henry IV. to be declared King of the Romans, a title ſtill in uſe for the acknowledged heir of the empire. Gebhard, a German biſhop, was elected pope, under the name of Victor II. and confirmed by the addreſs of Hildebrand, who waited on the emperor in perſon for that purpoſe, though he diſdained A.D. 1054.

8. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

to

PART I. to conſult him beforehand [9]. Perhaps Hildebrand would not have found this taſk ſo eaſy, had not Henry been involved in a war with the Hungarians, who preſſed him hard, but whom he obliged at laſt to pay a large tribute, and furniſh him annually with a certain number of fighting men.

As ſoon as the emperor had finiſhed this war, and others to which it gave riſe, he marched into Italy to inſpect the conduct of his ſiſter Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Mantua, and made her priſoner. She had married Gozelo, duke of Lorrain, without the emperor's conſent: and contracted her daughter Matilda, by the marquis of Mantua, to Godfrey duke of Spoleto and Tuſcany, Gozelo's ſon by a former marriage. This formidable alliance juſtly alarmed Henry; he therefore attempted to diſſolve it by carA. D. 1056. rying his ſiſter into Germany, where he died ſoon after his return, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

THIS emperor, in his laſt journey to Italy, concluded an alliance with Contarini, doge of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it had only been enfranchiſed in the year 998, from the tribute of a mantle of cloth of gold, which it formerly paid, as a mark of ſubjection, to the emperors of Conſtantinople. Genoa was the rival of Venice in power and in commerce, and was already in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Corſica, which the Genoeſe had taken from the Saracens [10]. Theſe two cities, which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion frequently to mention, ingroſſed at this time almoſt all the trade of Europe.

9. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. ii. *Hiſt. Literaire de la France*, tom. vii.
10. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* tom. vi.

There

There was no city in France or Germany equal, in any reſpect, to either of them. LETTER XXII.

A.D. 1056.

HENRY IV. ſurnamed the Great, was only five years old at his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged emperor in a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, and the care of his education was committed to his mother Agnes, who alſo governed the empire. She was a woman of ſpirit and addreſs, and diſcharged both her public and private truſt with diligence and ability.

GERMANY, during the firſt years of this reign, was harraſſed with civil wars; ſo that the empreſs Agnes, notwithſtanding her ſtrong talents, found it difficult to maintain her authority. And at length the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, carried him off from her by ſtratagem, accuſing her of ſacrificing the public welfare to the will of the biſhop of Augſburg, her miniſter and ſuppoſed gallant. Thus diveſted of the regency, ſhe fled to Rome, and there took the veil [11]. A.D. 1062.

HENRY was now put under the tuition of the archbiſhops of Cologne and Bremen, who diſcharged their truſt in a very oppoſite manner. The firſt endeavoured to inſpire him with a love of learning and virtue, while the ſecond ſought only to acquire an aſcendancy over his paſſions, by indulging him in all the pleaſures of youth. This indulgence produced a habit of licentiouſneſs which he could never afterwards reſtrain.

ITALY, in the mean time, was a prey, as uſual, to inteſtine diſorders. After a variety of troubles ex-

11. *Annal. de l'Emp.*

cited

cited on account of the pontificate, Nicholas II. the creature of Hildebrand, paſſed a famous decree, which gave riſe to many more; and by which it was ordained, in a council of an hundred and thirteen biſhops, That for the future the cardinals only ſhould elect the pope, and that the election ſhould be confirmed by the reſt of the Roman clergy and the people: "ſaving the honour," adds he, "due to our dear ſon "Henry, now king; and who, if it pleaſe God, ſhall "one day be emperor, according to the privilege "which we have already conferred upon him; and ſav-"ing the honour of his ſucceſſors on whom the Apo-"ſtolic See ſhall confer the ſame high privilege [12]."

THE ſame pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman princes, made protectors and vaſſals of them; and they, who were feudatories of the empire, leſs afraid of the popes than the emperors, readily did homage for their lands to Nicholas, in 1059, and agreed to hold them of the church[13].

THIS mode of holding was very common in thoſe days of rapacity, both for princes and private perſons, the only authority then reſpected being that of the church: and the Normans wiſely made uſe of it as a ſafe-guard againſt the emperors. They gave their lands to the church under the name of an offering, or oblata, and continued in poſſeſſion of them on paying a ſlight acknowledgment. Hence the pope's claim of ſuperiority over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

12. *Chronicon Farfenſe* in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. par. ii. To this edict of Nicholas II. the college of cardinals owes the extenſive authority and important privileges it ſtill enjoys. Under the name of *Cardinals* he comprehended the ſeven Roman biſhops, who were conſidered as his ſuffragans, and alſo the twenty-eight preſbyters, or pariſh-prieſts, who officiated in the principal churches. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ* vol. ii.

13. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

ROBERT

LETTER XXII.

ROBERT GUISCARD, brother of Drago, and one of the gallant ſons of Tancred of Hauteville, received from the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria; and Richard, count of Averſa, was confirmed prince of Capua, a title which he had already aſſumed. The pope alſo gave the Normans a right to hold Sicily in the ſame manner with their other poſſeſſions, provided they could expel the Saracens from it [14]: and Robert Guiſcard and his brother Roger made themſelves fully maſters of that iſland in 1061.

HENRY IV. aſſumed the reins of government at the age of twenty-two, and began his adminiſtration with reſtraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his ſubjects of the duchy of Saxony exerciſed upon ſtrangers, as well as upon each other. But the Saxon princes and nobles, who were gainers by theſe abuſes, particularly by the infamous practice of impriſoning travellers, and making them pay for their ranſom, oppoſed the intended reformation, and entered into an aſſociation againſt the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were in danger. In this rebellious diſpoſition they were encouraged by the arrogance of pope Alexander II. who, at the inſtigation of Hildebrand, his confidant and oracle, ſummoned Henry to appear before the tribunal of the Holy See, on account of his looſe life, and to anſwer to the charge of having expoſed the inveſtiture of biſhops to ſale [15]. A. D. 1072.

HENRY treated the pope's mandate with the contempt it deſerved; and at the ſame time carried on war with vigour againſt the Saxons, and their rebellious aſſociates, whom he totally routed in a bloody A. D. 1074.

14. Id. ibid.

15. Leo Oſtienſis, lib. iii. Dithmar, *Vit. Greg.* VII.

engagement,

PART I. engagement, and made himſelf maſter of all Saxony. The heads of the rebellion aſked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be reſtored to his favour: A. D. 1075. he generouſly accepted their ſubmiſſion, and peace was reſtored to Germany [16].

But Henry was not ſuffered long to enjoy the fruits of his valour. A new ſtorm threatened him from Italy; which afterwards fell with violence on his head, and ſhook all the thrones in Chriſtendom. On the death of Alexander II. in 1073, Hildebrand had been elected pope, under the name of Gregory VII. and although he had not aſked the emperor's voice, he prudently waited for his confirmation, before he aſſumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of ſubmiſſion: Henry confirmed his election; and Gregory, having nothing further to fear, pulled off the maſk. He began his pontificate with excommunicating every eccleſiaſtic who ſhould receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom ſuch benefice ſhould be conferred. This was was engaging the church in an open war with the ſovereigns of all nations. But the thunder of the Holy See was more particularly directed againſt the emperor; and Henry, ſenſible of his danger, and willing to avert it, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to Gregory, who pretended to take him into favour, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for the crimes of ſimony and debauchery, laid againſt him by the late pope, and of which he now confeſſed himſelf guilty [17].

Gregory, at the ſame time, propoſed a cruſade, in order to deliver the holy ſepulchre from the hands of the Infidels; offering to head the Chriſtians in perſon, and deſiring Henry to ſerve as a volunteer under

16. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l' Emp.* lib. ii.

17. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg.* VII.

his

his command [18]!—a project ſo wild and extravagant, that nothing but the prevailing ſpirit of the times, the double enthuſiaſm of religion and valour, can ſave the memory of its author from the imputation of inſanity. LETTER XXII. A. D. 1075.

GREGORY's project of making himſelf lord of Chriſtendom, by not only diſſolving the juriſdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exerciſed over the various orders of the clergy, but alſo by ſubjecting to the papal authority all temporal princes, and rendering their dominions tributary to the ſee of Rome, ſeems no leſs romantic; yet this he undertook, and not altogether without ſucceſs. Solomon, king of Hungary, dethroned by his brother Geyſa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favoured Geyſa, exclaimed againſt this act of ſubmiſſion; and ſaid, in a letter to Solomon, "You ought to know, "that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Ro- "man church; and learn, That you will incur the in- "dignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknow- "ledge that you hold your dominions of the pope, "and not of the emperor [19]!"

THIS preſumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a criſis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. And if Gregory could not ſucceed in one way, he was reſolved that he ſhould in another: he therefore reſumed the claim of inveſtitures, for which he had a more plauſible pretence; and as that diſpute and its conſequences merit par-

18. Id. ibid.

19. Goldaſt. *Apologia pro Hen. IV., Thomaſ. Conten. inter. Imp. et. Sacerdot.*

ticular

PART I. A. D. 1075.

ticular attention, I ſhall be more circumſtantial than uſual.

THE predeceſſors of Henry IV. had always enjoyed the right of nominating biſhops and abbots, and of giving them inveſtiture by the ring and croſier. This right they had in common with almoſt all princes. The predeceſſors of Gregory VII. had been accuſtomed, on their part, to ſend legates to the emperors, in order to entreat their aſſiſtance; to obtain their confirmation, or deſire them to come and receive the papal ſanction, but for no other purpoſe. Gregory, however, ſent two legates to ſummon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, becauſe he ſtill continued to beſtow inveſtitures, notwithſtanding the apoſtolic decree to the contrary; adding, That if he ſhould fail to yield obedience to the church, he muſt expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

INCENSED at that arrogant meſſage from one whom he conſidered as his vaſſal, Henry diſmiſſed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an aſſembly of all the German princes and dignified eccleſiaſtics at
A. D. 1076. Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, That Gregory having uſurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with many novelties and abuſes, and deviated from his duty to his ſovereign in ſeveral ſcandalous attempts, the emperor, by that ſupreme authority derived from his predeceſſors, ought to diveſt him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place [20].

IN conſequence of this determination, Henry ſent an ambaſſador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at

20. Schilter. *De Libertat Eccleſ. German.* lib. iv.

which

LETTER XXII.

which were preſent an hundred and ten biſhops, who unanimouſly agreed, That the pope had juſt cauſe to depoſe Henry; to diſſolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and ſtates had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correſpondence with him on pain of excommunication. And that ſentence was immediately fulminated againſt the emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and "by your authority," ſaid Gregory, alluding to the members of the council, "I prohibit Henry, the "ſon of our emperor Henry, from governing the "Teutonic kingdom, and Italy: I releaſe all Chriſ-"tians from their oath of allegiance to him; and I "ſtrictly forbid all perſons from ſerving or attending "him as king[21]!" A. D. 1076.

THIS is the firſt inſtance of a pope's pretending to deprive a ſovereign of his crown, but it was too flattering to eccleſiaſtical pride to be the laſt!—No prelate, from the foundation of the church, had ever preſumed to uſe ſo imperious a language as Gregory; for although Lewis the Debonaire had been depoſed by his biſhops, there was at leaſt ſome colour for that ſtep. They condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to do public penance.

THE circular letters written by this pontiff breathe the ſame ſpirit with his ſentence of depoſition. In theſe he repeatedly aſſerts, That "biſhops are ſupe-"rior to kings, and made to judge them!"—expreſſions alike artful and preſumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his ſtandard. Gregory's purpoſe is ſaid to have been, to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to the Vicar of Chriſt, as King of Kings and Lord of

21. Dithmar. *Hiſt. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

PART I. A. D. 1076.

Lords, all the potentates of the earth, and to eſtabliſh at Rome an annual aſſembly of biſhops, by whom the conteſts that might ariſe between kingdoms and ſovereign ſtates were to be decided; the rights and pretenſions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined [22].

THE haughty pontiff knew well what conſequences would follow the thunder of the church. The German biſhops came immediately over to his party, and drew along with them many of the nobles: the flame of civil war ſtill lay ſmouldering, and a bull properly directed was ſufficient to ſet it in a blaze. The Saxons, Henry's old enemies, made uſe of the papal diſpleaſure, as a pretence for rebelling againſt him. Even his favourite Guelf, a nobleman to whom he had given the duchy of Bavaria, ſupported the malecontents with that power which he owed to his ſovereign's bounty: nay, thoſe very princes and prelates who had aſſiſted in depoſing Gregory, gave up their monarch to be tried by the pope; and his Holineſs was ſollicited to come to Augſburg for that purpoſe [23].

WILLING to prevent this odious trial at Augſburg, Henry took the unaccountable reſolution of ſuddenly paſſing the Alps at Tirol, accompanied only by a few domeſtics, in order to aſk abſolution of Gregory, his tyrannical oppreſſor, who was then in Canoſa, on the Apennines; a fortreſs belonging to the counteſs or ducheſs Matilda, whom I have already had occaſion to mention. At the gates of this place the emperor preſented himſelf as an humble penitent. He alone was admitted within the outer court; where,

22. Moſheim. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. ii. par. ii. cent. xi. et Auct. cit. in loc.
23. Dithmar. ubi ſup. *Annal. German.* ap. Struv.

being

being ſtript of his robes, and wrapt in ſack-cloth, he was obliged to remain three days, in the month of January, barefooted and faſting, before he was permitted to kiſs the feet of his Holineſs, who all that time was ſhut up with the devout Matilda, whoſe ſpiritual director he had long been; and, as ſome ſay, her gallant. But be that as it may, her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred againſt the Germans, was ſo great, that ſhe made over all her eſtates to the apoſtolic ſee: and this donation is the true cauſe of all the wars, which ſince that period have raged between the emperors and the popes. She poſſeſſed, in her own right, great part of Tuſcany; Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almoſt the whole of what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto; together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the Marche of Ancona [24].

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1077.

THE emperor was at length permitted to throw himſelf at the feet of the haughty pontiff, who condeſcended to grant him abſolution, after he had ſworn obedience to his Holineſs in all things, and promiſed to ſubmit to his ſolemn deciſion at Augſburg; ſo that Henry got nothing but diſgrace by his journey, while Gregory, elated with his triumph, and now looking upon himſelf, nor altogether without reaſon, as the lord and maſter of all the crowned heads in Chriſtendom, ſaid in ſeveral of his letters, that it was his duty "to pull down the pride of kings."

THIS extraordinary accommodation gave much diſguſt to the princes of Italy. They never could forgive the inſolence of the pope nor the abject humi-

24. Pran. Mar. Florent. *Mem. della Conteſſa Matilda.*

PART I. A.D. 1077. lity of the emperor. Happily however for Henry, their indignation at Gregory's arrogance overbalanced their deteſtation of *his* meanneſs. He took advantage of this temper; and by a change of fortune, hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he found a ſtrong party in Italy, when abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms againſt the pope, while he was raiſing all Germany againſt the emperor.

GREGORY, on the one hand, made uſe of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry, on his part, left nothing undone to perſuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans choſe Rodolph, duke of Suabia, who was ſolemnly crowned A.D. 1078. at Mentz; and Gregory, heſitating on this occaſion, behaved truly like the ſupreme judge of kings. He had depoſed Henry, but ſtill it was in his power to pardon that prince: he therefore affected to be diſpleaſed that Rodolph was conſecrated without his order; and declared, that he would acknowledge as emperor and king of Germany, him of the two competitors who ſhould be moſt ſubmiſſive to the Holy See [25].

HENRY however, truſting more to the valour of his troops than to the generoſity of the pope, ſet out immediately for Germany, where he defeated his enemies in ſeveral engagements: and Gregory ſeeing no A.D. 1080. hopes of ſubmiſſion, thundered out a ſecond ſentence of excommunication againſt him, confirming at the ſame time the election of Rodolph, to whom he ſent a golden crown, on which the following well-known verſe, equally haughty and puerile, was engraved:

25. Dithmar. *Hiſt. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.* Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.*

Petra

LETTER XXII.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho

A. D. 1080.

THIS donation was alſo accompanied with a prophetic anathema againſt Henry, ſo wild and extravagant, as to make one doubt, whether it was dictated by enthuſiaſm or prieſtcraft. After depriving him of *ſtrength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apoſtrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: "Make all men "ſenſible, that as you can bind and looſe every thing "in Heaven, you can alſo upon earth take from, or "give to every one according to his deſerts, empires, "kingdoms, principalities—let the kings and princes "of the age then inſtantly feel your power, that they "may not dare to deſpiſe the orders of your church; "let your juſtice be ſo ſpeedily executed upon Hen"ry, that nobody may doubt but he falls by your "means, and not by chance [26]."

IN order to avoid the effects of this ſecond excommunication, Henry took a ſtep worthy of himſelf. He aſſembled at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, about twenty German biſhops; who acting alſo for the biſhops of Lombardy, unanimouſly reſolved, That the pope, inſtead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; and that Gregory VII. having rendered himſelf unworthy of the papal chair by his miſconduct and rebellion, ought to be depoſed from a dignity he ſo little deſerved. They accordingly degraded Hildebrand, and elected in his room Guibert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, a perſon of undoubted merit, who took the name of Clement III.

HENRY promiſed to put the new pope in poſſeſſion of Rome. But he was obliged, in the mean time, to

26. Harduin, *Concil.* Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

PART I. A.D. 1080.

ſhift the ſcene of action, and to employ all his forces againſt his rival Rodolph, who had re-aſſembled a large body of troops in Saxony. The two armies met near Merſburg, and both fought with great fury. Victory remained long doubtful; but the fortune of the day ſeemed inclining to Rodolph, when his hand was cut off by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, then in the ſervice of Henry, and afterwards renowned by the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. Diſcouraged by the misfortune of their chief, the rebels immediately gave way; and Rodolph perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand that was cut off to be brought him, and made a ſpeech to his officers on the occaſion, which could not fail to have a favourable influence on the emperor's affairs. "Behold," ſaid he, "the hand with which I took "the oath of allegiance to Henry; an oath, which "at the inſtigation of Rome, I have violated, in "perfidiouſly aſpiring to an honour that was not my "due [27]."

THE emperor thus delivered from his formidable antagoniſt, ſoon diſperſed the reſt of his enemies in Germany, and ſet out for Italy, in order to ſettle Clement III. in the papal chair. But the gates of Rome being ſhut againſt him, he was obliged to attack it in form. The ſiege continued upwards of two years; Henry, during that time, being obliged to quell ſome inſurrections in Germany. The city was at length carried by aſſault, and with difficulty ſaved from being pillaged; but Gregory was not taken: he retired into the caſtle of St. Angelo, and thence defied and excommunicated the conqueror.

A.D. 1081.

THE new pope was however conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies, and expreſſed his gratitude by

A.D. 1084.

[27] *Chron. Magdeb.*

crowning

crowning Henry, with the concurrence of the Roman ſenate and people. Mean while the ſiege of St. Angelo was going on; but the emperor being called about ſome affairs into Lombardy, Robert Guiſcard took advantage of his abſence to releaſe Gregory, who died ſoon after at Salerno. His laſt words, borrowed from the ſcripture, were worthy of the greateſt ſaint: "I "have loved juſtice, and hated iniquity; therefore I "die in exile [28]!"

A. D. 1084.

A. D. 1085.

HENRY did not long enjoy the ſucceſs of his Italian expedition, or that tranquillity which might have been expected from the death of Gregory. Germany was involved in new troubles: thither he haſtened with all expedition. The Saxons, his old enemies, had elected a king of the Romans, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements, and whoſe blood atoned for his preſumption. Another pretender ſhared the ſame fate. Every thing yielded to the emperor's valour.

BUT while Henry was thus victorious in Germany, his enemies were buſy in embroiling his affairs in Italy, into which he found it neceſſary again to march. Not ſatisfied with Clement III. the emperor's pope, they had elected the abbot of Monte Caſſino, under the name of Victor III. and he dying in a ſhort time, they choſe in his room Urban II. who, in conjunction with the counteſs Matilda, ſeduced the emperor's ſon, Conrad, into a rebellion againſt his father.—It was this Urban who held the famous council of Clermont, of which I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak, and where the firſt cruſade was reſolved upon.

A. D. 1087.

CONRAD aſſumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by Anſelmo, archbiſhop of Mi-

A. D. 1090.

28. *Vit. Greg.* VII. Murat. ubi ſup.

PART I. A.D. 1090.

lan. Soon after this ceremony, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily; and ſucceeded ſo well in his uſurpation, that the greater part of the Italian cities and nobles acknowledged him as their ſovereign. The emperor, therefore, deſpairing of being able to reduce his ſon to obedience, returned to Germany; where he aſſembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his brother Henry king of A.D. 1099. the Romans [29]. An accommodation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians, and the emperor hoped to ſpend the latter part of his life in peace.

In the mean time Conrad died; and Paſcal II. another Hildebrand, ſucceeded Urban in the ſee of Rome. This pope no ſooner found himſelf ſafely ſeated in the chair, than he called a council, to which he ſummoned the emperor; and as Henry did not obey the A.D. 1101. citation, he excommunicated him a-new for the ſchiſms which he had introduced into the church. But that vengeance, though ſufficiently ſevere, was gentle, in compariſon of what Paſcal meditated and accompliſhed. He excited young Henry to rebel againſt his father, under pretence of defending the cauſe of the orthodox; alledging, that he was bound to take upon himſelf the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a father that was excommunicated [30].

In vain did the emperor uſe every paternal remonſtrance to diſſuade his ſon from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the deciſion of the ſword. But the ſon dreading his father's military ſuperiority, and confiding in his tenderneſs, made uſe of a ſtratagem equally baſe and effectual. He threw himſelf unexpected-

29. *Chron. Magdeb.* *Sacrard.*

30. Dithmar. *Hiſt Bell. inter Imp. et*

ly

ly, at the emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counſellors. In conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, he was immediately taken into favour, and the emperor diſmiſſed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined; while he aſſembled a diet of his own confederates, at which the pope's legate preſided, and repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor Henry IV. who was inſtantly depoſed, and the parricidious uſurper Henry V. proclaimed [31]. A. D. 1106.

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1101.

THE archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne were ſent as deputies to the old emperor, to intimate his depoſition, and demanded the crown, and other regalia. Henry received this deputation with equal ſurprize and concern; and finding the chief accuſation againſt him was, "the ſcandalous manner in which he had ſet "biſhoprics to ſale," he thus addreſſed the audacious eccleſiaſtics: "If we have proſtituted the benefices of "the church for hire, you yourſelves are the moſt pro- "per perſons to convict us of that ſimony. Say then, "I conjure you, in the name of the eternal God! what "have we exacted, or what have we received, for "having promoted you to the dignities which you "now enjoy?" They acknowledged he was innocent, as far as regarded their preferment:—"and yet," continued he, "the archbiſhoprics of Mentz and Co- "logne being two of the beſt in our gift, we might "have filled our coffers by expoſing them to ſale. "We beſtowed them, however, on you, out of free "grace and favour;—and a worthy return you make "to our benevolence!—Do not, we beſeech you, "become abettors of thoſe who have lifted up their "hand againſt their lord and maſter, in defiance of "faith, gratitude, and allegiance."

31. Id. ibid.

THE

PART I. A. D. 1106.

THE two archbiſhops, unmoved by that pathetic addreſs, inſiſted on his compliance with the purport of their errand. On this he retired, and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and ſeating himſelf on a chair of ſtate, he renewed his remonſtrance in theſe words: "Here are the marks of that royalty with which we "were inveſted by God and the princes of the em- "pire; if you diſregard the wrath of Heaven, and "the eternal reproach of mankind, ſo much as to "lay violent hands on your ſovereign, you may ſtrip "us of them. We are not in a condition to defend "ourſelves."

THIS ſpeech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who inſtantly ſnatched the crown from his head; and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, "Great "God!"—the tears trickling down his venerable cheeks—"thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt "repay this outrage. I have ſinned, I own, and "merited ſuch ſhame by the follies of my youth; "but thou wilt not fail to puniſh thoſe traitors, for "their perjury, inſolence, and ingratitude [32]."

To ſuch a degree of wretchedneſs was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his ſon, that, deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life, he entreated Gertrad, biſhop of Spire, whom he had created, to grant him a canonicate for his ſubſiſtence; repreſenting, that he was capable of performing the office of "chant- "er or reader!" Being denied that humble requeſt, he ſhed a flood of tears, and turning to thoſe who were preſent, ſaid with a deep ſigh, "My dear friends, at

32. Dithmar. ubi ſup. Heiſs, lib. ii. chap. ix.

"leaſt

"least have pity on my condition, for I am touched "by the hand of the Lord [33]!"—The hand of man, at least, was heavy upon him; for he was not only in want, but under confinement. LETTER XXII. A.D. 1106

In the midst of these distresses, when every one thought his courage was utterly extinguished, and his soul overwhelmed by despondence, Henry found means to escape from his keepers, and reached Cologne, where he was recognized as lawful emperor. He next repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raised a considerable body of troops to facilitate his restoration: and he sent circular letters to all the princes of Christendom, in order to interest them in his cause. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to understand, that he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be settled without prejudice to his crown. But before any thing material could be executed in Henry's favour, he died at Liege, Aug. 7. in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments both of body and mind. There was an air of dignity in his appearance that spoke the greatness of his soul. He possessed a natural fund of eloquence and vivacity; was of a mild and merciful temper; extremely charitable; and an admirable pattern of fortitude and resignation [34].

Henry V. put the finishing stroke to his barbarous, unnatural, and hypocritical conduct, by causing his father's body, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral of Liege, and be carried to a cave at Spire [35]. But notwithstanding his

33. Id. ibid. 34. Gob. Pers. Leo Ostiens. *Chron. Magdeb.*
35. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom i.

obligations,

PART I. obligations, and ſeeming attachment to the church, this parricidious zealot no ſooner found himſelf eſta-
A. D. 1106. bliſhed upon the imperial throne, than he maintained that right of inveſtiture, in oppoſition to which he had taken arms againſt his father, and the exerciſe of which was thought to merit anathemas ſo frightful as to diſturb the ſacred manſions of the dead.

In order to terminate that old diſpute, Henry invited the pope into Germany. But Paſcal, who was well acquainted with the emperor's haughty and implacable diſpoſition, thought proper to take a different route, and put himſelf under the protection of Philip I. king of France, who undertook to mediate an accommodation between the empire and the Holy See. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, but without effect.

A. D. 1107. After this unſucceſsful meeting, the pope held a council at Troyes, and Henry convoked a diet at Mentz: the firſt ſupported Paſcal's pretenſions, and the laſt declared for the emperor's right of inveſtiture. But more weighty affairs demanding Henry's attention, the diſpute was laid aſide for a time. He was engaged for ſeveral years in wars with Hungary and Poland, which ended in the wearineſs of all parties, and left things nearly as at the beginning.

When tired of fighting, Henry thought of diſputing: he was deſirous of ſettling his conteſt with the pope; and, leſt force ſhould be neceſſary, he en-
A. D. 1111. tered Italy with an army of eighty thouſand men. Paſcal received him with the greateſt appearance of cordiality, but would not renounce the claim of inveſtitures; and Henry finding himſelf deceived in his expectations, ordered the pope to be ſeized. The conſul put the citizens in arms, and a battle was fought

fought within the walls of Rome. The Romans were defeated; and the carnage was ſo great, that the waters of the Tiber were ſtained with blood. Paſcal was taken priſoner, and became leſs inflexible. He crowned Henry, and confirmed him in the right of inveſtiture; dividing the hoſt with him, at the ſame time, in token of perfect reconciliation, and pronouncing the following anathema: "As this part of the vivi- "fying body," breaking it, "is ſeparated from the "other, let him of us two, who ſhall infringe the "treaty, be ſeparated from the kingdom of Chriſt[36]!" LETTER XXII. A.D. 1111.

But Henry had no ſooner left Italy than it appeared, that the court of Rome was by no means ſincere in the conceſſions it had made; for although Paſcal himſelf ſtill preſerved the exteriors of friendſhip and good faith, a council of the Lateran, called by him, ſet aſide the bull touching the inveſtiture of benefices, and ordered the emperor to be excommunicated. The clergy every where attempted to fill the vacant ſees, and the whole empire was again involved in trouble and diſſenſion. A.D. 1112

A rebellion broke out in Saxony, which Henry was enabled to quell by the valour of his nephew, Frederic duke of Suabia and Alſace, whom he promoted to the ſupreme command of his army. In the mean time the counteſs Matilda dying, the emperor, as her neareſt relation, claimed the ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding the ſteps ſhe had taken in favour of the Holy See, alledging that it was not in her power to alienate her eſtates, which depended immediately upon the empire. He therefore ſet out for Lombardy, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, beſeeching the pope to revoke the ſentence of excommunication which had A.D. 1114. A.D. 1115.

36. *Chron.* Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. Padre Paolo, *Benef. Eccleſ.*

been

PART I. A. D. 1115. been fulminated againſt him, expreſsly contrary to their laſt agreement.

PASCAL would not ſo much as favour the ambaſſadors with an audience; but convoked a council, in which his treaty with the emperor was a ſecond time A. D. 1116. condemned. Incenſed at ſuch arrogance, Henry advanced towards Rome, determined to make his authority reſpected; and the pope, well acquainted with his inflexible diſpoſition, took ſhelter among the Norman princes in Apulia, the new vaſſals and protectors of the church.

A. D. 1117. THE emperor entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned a ſecond time by Bardinus, archbiſhop of Prague, who attended him in this expedition. But Henry's preſence being neceſſary in Tuſcany, Paſcal privately returned to Rome, where he died in a few A. D. 1118. days; and on the third day after his deceaſe, cardinal Cajetan was elected his ſucceſſor, without the privity of the emperor, under the name of Gelaſius II.

ENRAGED at this preſumption, Henry declared the election of Gelaſius void, and appointed in his place Bardinus, who aſſumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor, and confirmed his right of inveſtiture. Gelaſius, though ſupported by the Norman princes, was obliged to take refuge in France, where he died; and the archbiſhop of Vienne was elected A. D. 1119. in his room, by the cardinals then preſent, under the name of Calixtus II.

CALIXTUS attempted an accommodation with Henry; which not ſucceeding, he called a council, and again excommunicated the emperor, the anti- D. 1120. pope, and their adherents. He next ſet out for Rome, where he was honourably received, and Gregory VIII. retired

retired to Sutri, a ſtrong town, garriſoned by the emperor's troops. They were not, however, able to protect him from the fury of his rival. Calixtus, aſſiſted by the Norman princes, beſieged Sutri; and the inhabitants, afraid of the conſequences, delivered up Gregory, who was mounted, by his competitor, upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the ſtreets of Rome, amid the ſcoffs and inſults of the populace, as a prelude to his confinement for life [37]. LETTER XXII. A. D. 1120.

In the mean time the ſtates of the empire, quite tired with this long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, unanimouſly ſupplicated Henry for peace. He referred himſelf entirely to their deciſion; and a diet being aſſembled at Worms, it was decreed, that an embaſſy ſhould immediately be ſent to the pope, deſiring that he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all diſputes might be determined. Calixtus accordingly called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were preſent three hundred biſhops, and about ſeven hundred abbots. A.D. 1122.

The imperial ambaſſadors being heard before this grand aſſembly, the affair of inveſtitures was at length ſettled, with their conſent, on the following conditions: — "That, for the future, the biſhops and "abbots ſhall be choſen by the monks and canons; "but that this election ſhall be made in preſence of "the emperor, or of an ambaſſador appointed by him "for that purpoſe: that, in caſe a diſpute ariſe a-"mong the electors, the deciſion of it ſhall be left to "the emperor, who is to conſult with the biſhops on "that ſubject; that the *biſhop* or *abbot* elect ſhall take

37. Dithmar. *Hiſt Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

"an

PART I. A. D. 1122.

" an *oath of allegiance* to the emperor, receive from his " hand the *regalia*, and do *homage* for them; that the " emperor ſhall no longer *confer* the *regalia* by the " ceremony of the *ring* and *croſier*, which are the *en-* " *ſigns* of a *ghoſtly dignity*, but by that of the *ſceptre*, " as more proper to *inveſt* the perſon elected in the " *poſſeſſion* of *rights* and *privileges* merely *temporal* [38]."

THUS, in ſubſtituting the *ſceptre* for the *ring* and *croſier*, ended one of the moſt bloody quarrels that ever deſolated Chriſtendom. But as no mention had been made in this accommodation, of the emperor's right to create popes, or to intermeddle in their election, Calixtus was no ſooner dead than the cardinals, A. D. 1124. clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with ſo much diſorder, that two perſons were elected at the ſame time; Theobald, called Celeſtin, and Lambert, biſhop of Oſtia, who aſſumed the name of Honorius II. and was confirmed in the papacy, on the voluntary reſignation of his competitor.

A. D. 1125. HENRY died at Utrecht a few years after his accommodation with Rome. He was a wiſe, politic, and reſolute prince; and excluſive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, was worthy of the imperial throne. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no children; ſo that the empire was left without a head.—But a variety of objects demand your attention, before I carry further the affairs of Germany.

38. Padre Paolo, ubi ſup. Schilter. *de Libertat. Eccleſ. German.* lib. iv.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

ENGLAND, *from the Battle of* HASTINGS, *to the Death of* HENRY I.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen the duke of Normandy victorious at Haſtings. Nothing could exceed the conſternation of the Engliſh, when informed of that unfortunate battle, the death of their king, and the ſlaughter of their principal nobility; and, that they might not have leiſure to recover themſelves, William immediately put himſelf in motion, firmly reſolved to terminate an enterprize, which celerity and vigour only could render finally ſucceſsful. He advanced by quick marches towards London, where his approach increaſed the general alarm, and the confuſions already prevalent in the Engliſh councils. The ſuperior clergy, who even then were moſtly French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his undertaking was avowed and conſecrated, was now openly inſiſted on as a reaſon for general ſubmiſſion. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1066.

OTHER cauſes rendered it difficult for the Engliſh, deſtitute as they were of a leader, to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The body of the people had, in a great meaſure, loſt their national pride and independent ſpirit, by their recent and long ſubjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the courſe of his adminiſtration, much abated the rigours of conqueſt, and governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with leſs terror a foreign ſovereign, and deemed the inconveniencies of admitting the pretenſions of William leſs dreadful than thoſe of bloodſhed, war, and reſiſtance. A repulſe, which a body of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horſe,

PART I. A. D. 1066.

renewed the terror of the great defeat at Haſtings: the eaſy ſubmiſſion of all the inhabitants of Kent was an additional diſcouragement to them; and the burning of Southwark before their eyes made them dread a like fate to their capital. Few men longer entertained any thoughts but of immediate ſafety and ſelf-preſervation.

STIGAND, archbiſhop of Canterbury, met the conqueror at Barkhamſtead, and made ſubmiſſions to him: and before he reached London, all the chief nobility, with the weak Edgar Atheling, their lawful but deſervedly neglected prince, came into William's camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requeſted him to accept the crown, which they now conſidered as vacant; and orders were immediately iſſued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation. It was accordingly performed in Weſtminſter-abbey, in preſence of the moſt conſiderable nobility and gentry, both Engliſh and Norman, with ſeeming ſatisfaction [1]. This appearance of ſatisfaction, on the part of the former, if it contained any ſincerity, muſt have been the effect of the conciliating manner in which the coronation ceremony was conducted. The duke of Normandy took the uſual oath adminiſtered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their inauguration; namely, "to preſerve inviolate "the conſtitution, and govern according to the laws," before the crown was placed upon his head, and after the conſent of all preſent had been aſked and obtained [2].

WILLIAM

1. Gul. Pictav. Ord. vic. Vital.

2. Ibid. Aware that ſuch an oath would be demanded, and conſcious that he muſt either violate it or relinquiſh the rights of conqueſt, William is ſaid to have heſitated, whether he ſhould accept the offer of the Engliſh crown from the nobility and clergy, or owe it ſolely to the ſword. But his moſt experienced captains adviſed him to moderate his ambition; ſenſible that the people of England, when they ſaw they had to contend for their free conſtitution, not merely for the perſon who ſhould

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1067.

WILLIAM thus poſſeſſed of the throne, by a pretended will of king Edward, and an irregular election of the people, abetted by force of arms, retired to Barking in Eſſex; where he received the ſubmiſſions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation, and whom he generally confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their lands and dignities, forfeiting only the eſtates of Harold, and a few of thoſe who had been moſt active in his cauſe. Every thing wore the aſpect of peace and tranquillity. The king ſeemed ſolicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Engliſh and Normans, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new ſubjects, who approached his perſon, were received with affability and regard. No ſigns of ſuſpicion appeared even towards Edgar Atheling, the natural heir to the crown, whom he confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the greateſt kindneſs, as nephew to the Confeſſor his friend and benefactor. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and all the other cities of England; and ſeemed, in a word, deſirous of reſting every thing on ancient foundations. In his whole adminiſtration he bore the ſemblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; ſo that the Engliſh began to flatter themſelves, they had only changed the ſucceſſion of their ſovereigns, a matter which gave them little concern, without injury to the form of their government.

BUT William, notwithſtanding this ſeeming confidence and friendſhip, which he expreſſed for his Engliſh ſubjects, took care to place all real power in the

ſhould adminiſter their government, would fight with double fury; when they found that their deareſt intereſts, their liberty and property, were at ſtake. Gul. Pictav.

PART I. A.D. 1067.

hands of the Normans, and ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of that ſword to which he eventually owed his crown. He every where diſarmed the inhabitants: he built fortreſſes in all the principal cities, where he quartered Norman ſoldiers; he beſtowed the forfeited eſtates on the moſt powerful of his captains, and eſtabliſhed funds for the payment of his troops. While his civil adminiſtration wore the face of the legal magiſtrate, his military inſtitutions were thoſe of a maſter and a tyrant. He left no power able to reſiſt or oppoſe him: and by this mixture of rigour and lenity, he ſubdued and compoſed the minds of the people of England to ſuch a degree, that he ventured to viſit his native country within ſix months after he had left it 3.

VARIOUS reaſons have been aſſigned by hiſtorians for this extraordinary journey; for extraordinary it certainly was in William, as Normandy remained in perfect tranquillity, to abſent himſelf ſo ſoon after the ſubmiſſion of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation. Some have aſcribed it to a vain oſtentation, which made him impatient to diſplay his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers; while others, ſuppoſing him incapable of ſuch weakneſs, affirm, That in this ſtep, apparently ſo extravagant, he was guided by a concealed policy; that finding he could neither ſatisfy his rapacious captains, nor ſecure his unſtable government, without exerting farther the rights of conqueſt, and ſeizing the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, he left them to the mercy of an inſolent and licentious army, in order to try their ſpirit, to provoke them to rebellion, and to give a colour to his intended uſurpations. For my own part, I can ſee no reaſon why William, ſolid as his genius was, may not have been influenced by both theſe mo-

3. Ibid.

tives

tives in undertaking his journey to Normandy. But whatever was the cauſe, the effect is certain: the Engliſh revolted in conſequence of the king's abſence; and he thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the reſolution of ſeizing their poſſeſſions, and reducing them to the moſt abject ſlavery. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1067.

BUT although the natural violence and ſeverity of William's temper made him incapable of feeling any ſcruples in the execution of this tyrannical purpoſe, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and to preſerve ſtill ſome appearance of juſtice in his oppreſſions. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, who threw themſelves on his mercy; and he ordered all his Engliſh ſubjects, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his abſence, to be reſtored to their eſtates. The public diſcontents, however, daily increaſed; and the injuries committed and ſuffered on both ſides, rendered the quarrel between the victors and vanquiſhed incurable. The inſolence of imperious maſters, diſperſed throughout the kingdom, ſeemed intolerable to the natives, who took every opportunity to gratify their vengeance by the ſlaughter of their enemies. But an inſurrection in the North drew general attention, and ſeemed to promiſe more important conſequences. A. D. 1068.

EDWIN and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were at the head of this rebellion: and theſe warlike noblemen, before they took arms, had ſtipulated for aid from Blethin, prince of North-Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark. Senſible of the importance of celerity in quelling an inſurrection ſupported by ſuch powerful leaders, and ſo agreeable to the wiſhes of the people, William, who had always his troops in readineſs, ad-

PART I. A. D. 1068.

vanced with ſpeed to the North; and reached York before the rebels were in any degree prepared for action, or had received any foreign aid, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales. The two earls, therefore, found no other means of ſafety, but in having recourſe to the clemency of the king: and the people, thus deſerted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. But the treatment of the chieftains and their followers, after ſubmiſſion, was very different. William obſerved religiouſly the terms granted to the former, and allowed them for the preſent to keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but he extended the rigour of his confiſcations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, whom he planted throughout the whole country 4.

THE Engliſh were now convinced that their final deſtruction was intended; and that, inſtead of a legal ſovereign, whom they had at firſt hoped to gain by their prompt ſubmiſſions, they had unwiſely ſurrendered themſelves to a maſter and a tyrant. The early confiſcation of Harold's followers ſeemed iniquitous, as they were extended towards men who had never ſworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, and who only fought in defence of the government which they themſelves had eſtabliſhed in their own country. Yet theſe rigours, how contrary ſoever to the ſpirit of the Anglo-Saxon laws, were excuſed on account of the urgent neceſſities of the victor; and they who were not involved in thoſe forfeitures, hoped to enjoy unmoleſted their poſſeſſions and their dignities. But the ſucceſſive deſtruction of ſo many families convinced them, that the Norman prince intended to rely ſolely, for the maintenance of his authority, on the ſupport and affection of foreigners. And they foreſaw new forfeitures, attain-

4. Orderic. Vital. Sim. Dunelm.

ders,

ders, and violences, as the neceſſary reſult of this deſtructive plan of adminiſtration. LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1068

IMPRESSED with a ſenſe of their diſmal ſituation, many Engliſhmen fled into foreign countries; with an intention of paſſing their lives abroad, free from oppreſſion, or of returning on a favourable opportunity, to aſſiſt their friends in recovering their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſidious careſſes of William, made his eſcape into Scotland, and carried thither his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtina. They were well received by Malcolm III, then king of that country, who ſoon after eſpouſed Margaret, the elder ſiſter: and partly with a view of ſtrengthening his kingdom by the acceſſion of ſo many ſtrangers, partly in hopes of employing them againſt the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the Engliſh exiles[5]. Many of them ſettled in Scotland, and there laid the foundations of families, which afterwards made a figure in that kingdom.

WHILE the people of England laboured under thoſe oppreſſions, new attempts were made for the recovery of their liberties. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three ſons of Harold, had ſought a retreat in Ireland, after the defeat at Haſtings; and having met with a kind reception from Dermot, and other princes of that iſland, they projected an invaſion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, aſſiſted by forces from theſe ſeveral countries, would at once commence hoſtilities, and rouſe the reſentment of the Engliſh nation againſt their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonſhire, but found a A. D. 1069 body of Normans ready to oppoſe them; and being defeated in ſeveral rencounters, they were obliged to ſeek ſhelter in their ſhips, and return with great loſs

5. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

PART I. A. D. 1069.

into Ireland. The ſtruggle, however, was not over: all the North was ſoon in arms. The Northumbrians, impatient of ſervitude, had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him and ſeven hundred of his adherents to death. This example animated the inhabitants of York, who ſlew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and beſieged in the caſtle William Mallet, on whom the command devolved. About the ſame time the Daniſh ſuccours landed from three hundred veſſels, under the command of Oſberne, brother to king Sweyn, accompanied by Harold and Canute, two ſons of that northern monarch. Edward Atheling alſo appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him a number of Engliſh noblemen, who had ſhared his exile, and who eaſily excited the warlike and diſcontented Northumbrians to a general inſurrection. The better to provide for the defence of the citadel of York, Mallet ſet fire to ſome neighbouring houſes. But that expedient proved his ruin. The flames ſpreading into the adjacent ſtreets, reduced the whole city to aſhes; and the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confuſion to attack the fortreſs, which they carried by aſſault, and put the garriſon, amounting to three thouſand men, to the ſword. This ſucceſs proved a ſignal of revolt to many other parts of the kingdom. The Engliſh, every where repenting of their former too eaſy ſubmiſſion, ſeemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberty and the expulſion of their oppreſſors [6].

UNDISMAYED amid this ſcene of confuſion, William aſſembled his forces, and animating them by the proſpect of new confiſcations and forfeitures, marched againſt the inſurgents in the North, whom he con-

6. Ord. Vital. Gul. Gemet. Sim. Dunelm.

ſidered

ſidered as moſt formidable. Not chuſing, however, to truſt entirely to force, he endeavoured to weaken the rebels, by detaching the Danes from them. And A.D. 1069. he accordingly prevailed upon Oſberne, by large preſents, and the liberty of plundering the ſea-coaſt, to deſert his engagements. Many Engliſh noblemen, in deſpair, followed the unworthy example; made ſubmiſſions to the Conqueror, and were taken into favour. Malcolm, the Scottiſh king, coming too late to ſupport his confederates, was obliged to retire; ſo that the Normans found themſelves once more undiſputed maſters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling and his followers again ſought an aſylum in Scot- A.D. 1070. land; but deſpairing of ſucceſs, and weary of a fugitive life, that prince afterwards ſubmitted to his enemy, and was permitted to live unmoleſted in England [7].

WILLIAM's ſeeming clemency, however, proceeded only from political conſiderations, or from his eſteem of individuals: his heart was hardened againſt all compaſſion towards the Engliſh as a people; and he ſcrupled no meaſure, how violent or ſevere ſoever, which ſeemed requiſite to ſupport his plan of tyrannical adminiſtration. Acquainted with the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the Northumbrians, who had begun the revolt, and determined to incapaciate them from ever more moleſting him, he iſſued orders for laying waſte that fertile country, which, to the extent of ſixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees [8]. The houſes were reduced to aſhes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were ſeized and driven away; the inſtruments of huſbandry were deſtroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to ſeek a

7. Gul. Gemet. R. Hoveden.

8. *Chron Sax.* W. Malmeſ. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Sim Dunelm.

ſubſiſtence

PART I. A. D. 1070.

ſubſiſtence in the ſouthern parts of Scotland, or to periſh miſerably in the woods from cold and hunger, which many of them choſe rather to do than abandon their native ſoil. The lives of an hundred thouſand perſons are computed to have been ſacrificed to this ſtroke of barbarous policy [9]; which, by ſeeking a remedy for a temporary evil, inflicted a laſting wound on the power and populouſneſs of the nation.

But William was now determined to proceed to extremities againſt all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they ſhould be no longer formidable to his government. The inſurrections and conſpiracies, in different parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landholders, more or leſs, in the guilt of treaſon; and the king took advantage of executing againſt them, with the utmoſt rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were commonly ſpared, but their eſtates were confiſcated, and either annexed to the royal domain, or conferred with the moſt profuſe bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Againſt a people thus devoted to deſtruction any ſuſpicions ſerved as the moſt undoubted proofs of guilt. It was crime ſufficient in an Engliſhman to be opulent, noble, or powerful: and the policy of the king concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almoſt total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary. The nobles were every where treated with ignominy and contempt: they had the mortification to ſee their caſtles and manors poſſeſſed by Normans of the meaneſt condition, and to find themſelves excluded from every road that led either to riches or preferment [10].

9. Order. Vital.

10. M. Weſt, Order. Vital.

POWER naturally follows property. This change of landholders alone therefore gave great ſecurity to the Norman government. But William alſo took care, by the new inſtitutions that he eſtabliſhed, to retain for ever the military authority in thoſe hands which had enabled him to acquire the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal polity, which he found eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy; and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the ſtability and of the diſorders in moſt of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with few exceptions, beſide the royal domain, into baronies; and he conferred theſe, with the reſervation of ſtated ſervices and payments, on the moſt conſiderable of his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, ſhared out part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vaſſals, and who paid their lord the ſame duty and ſubmiſſion, in peace and war, which he owed to his ſovereign. None of the native Engliſh were admitted into the firſt rank: the few, who retained any landed property, were therefore glad to be received into the ſecond; and under the protection of ſome powerful Norman, to load themſelves and their poſterity with a grievous ſervitude, for eſtates which had been tranſmitted free to them from their anceſtors [11].

A.D. 1070.

WILLIAM's next regulations regarded the church. He depoſed Stigand, the primate, and ſeveral other

11. M. Weſt. M. Paris. Bracton, lib. i. cap. 11. Fleta, lib. i. cap. 8. The proprietors of land, under the Anglo-Saxon princes, were only ſubjected to three obligations; namely, to attend the king with their followers in military expeditions, to aſſiſt in building or defending the royal caſtles, and to keep the highways and bridges in a proper ſtate: (Hickeſi, *Diſſertat.* Spelman, *Reliquiæ*) emphatically called the *three neceſſities*, as they certainly were in a government without regular troops, and almoſt without revenue.

Engliſh

PART I. A. D. 1070.

Engliſh biſhops, by the aſſiſtance of Ermonfroy, the pope's legate; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in ſome of the ſubſequent, that no native of the iſland ſhould ever be advanced to any dignity, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military, the king promoted Lanfranc, a Milaneſe monk, to the ſee of Canterbury. That prelate profeſſed the moſt devoted attachment to Rome, which thenceforth daily increaſed in England, and became very dangerous to ſome of William's ſucceſſors; but the arbitrary power of the Conqueror over the Engliſh, and his extenſive authority over the Normans, kept him from feeling any inconveniences from it. He retained the clergy in great ſubjection, as well as his lay ſubjects, and would allow no perſon of any condition or character to diſpute his abſolute will and pleaſure. None of his miniſters or barons, whatever might be their offences, could be ſubjected to ſpiritual cenſures, until his conſent was obtained. He prohibited his people to acknowledge any one for pope, whom he himſelf had not received; and he ordered, that all eccleſiaſtical canons, voted in any ſynod, ſhould be ſubmitted to him, and ratified by his authority, before they could be valid. Even bulls or letters from Rome, before they were produced, muſt receive the ſame ſanction. And when the imperious Gregory VII. whom we have ſeen tyrannizing over kings and emperors, wrote to this monarch, requiring him to fulfil his promiſe of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the ſee of Rome, and to ſend him over that tribute (meaning *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome, as uſual, was inclined to conſtrue into a badge of ſubjection acknowledged by the kingdom) which his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to pay to the vicar of Chriſt, William cooly replied, That the money ſhould be remitted

remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promiſed to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of impoſing that ſervitude on his ſtate. Nay he went ſo far as to refuſe the Engliſh biſhops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had ſummoned againſt his enemies [12]. A.D. 1070.

THE following anecdote ſhews, in a ſtill ſtronger light, the contempt of this prince for eccleſiaſtical dominion. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entruſted with a great ſhare of power, had amaſſed immenſe riches; and, agreeable to the uſual progreſs of human wiſhes, he began to regard his preſent eminence as only a ſtep to future grandeur. He aſpired at nothing leſs than the papacy, and had reſolved to tranſmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in perſon, accompanied by ſeveral noblemen, whom he had perſuaded to follow his example, in hopes of eſtabliſhments under the future pope. William, from whom this project had been carefully concealed, was no ſooner informed of it, than he accuſed Odo of treaſon, and ordered him to be arreſted; but nobody would lay hands on the biſhop. The king himſelf was therefore obliged to ſeize him: and when Odo inſiſted, That, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal juriſdiction, William boldly replied, "I "arreſt not the biſhop; I arreſt the earl!" and accordingly ſent him priſoner into Normandy, where he was detained in cuſtody, during this whole reign, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and menaces of Gregory [13].

BUT the Engliſh had the cruel mortification to find, that their king's authority, how worthy ſoever of a ſo-

12. *Ang. Sacra.* Eadmer. Ingulph. Order. Vital. 13. Ibid.

vereign,

PART I. A.D. 1070.

vereign, all tended to their oppreſſion, or to perpetuate their ſubjection. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally aboliſhing their language. He ordered the Engliſh youth to be inſtructed in the French tongue, in all the ſchools throughout the kingdom. The pleadings in the ſupreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were often drawn in the ſame language; the laws were compoſed in that idiom. No other tongue was uſed at court: it became the language of all faſhionable ſocieties; and the natives themſelves affected to excel in it [14]. To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions ſo long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominating mixture of French at preſent to be found in our language.

WHILE William was thus wantonly exerciſing his tyranny over England, his foreign affairs fell into diſorder: and the Engliſh had an opportunity of at once recovering their military character, and of taking vengeance on the part of their foreign oppreſſors. Fulk, count of Anjou, had ſeized on the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of the duke of Normandy, by the will of Herbert, the laſt count. But William, by the aſſiſtance of his new ſubjects, ſoon obliged the inhabitants, who had revolted, to return to their duty, and the count of Anjou to renounce his pretenſions [15].

A.D. 1073.

THE king now paſſed ſome years in Normandy; where his preſence was become neceſſary on account of the turbulent diſpoſition of his ſon Robert, who openly aſpired at independency, and claimed the duchies of Normandy and Maine, during his father's

14. *Chron. Rothom.* Ingulph. *Hiſt.* p. 71. Hume, *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. i. Warton, *Hiſt. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i.

15. *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

life-

life-time. William gave him a poſitive refuſal, repeating that homely ſaying, that he never intended to throw off his cloaths till he went to bed. He accordingly called over an army of Engliſhmen, under his ancient captains, who bravely expelled Robert and his adherents. The prince took ſhelter in the caſtle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoiſin, which the king of France, who ſecretly favoured his pretenſions, had provided for him. In this fortreſs he was cloſely beſieged by his father, againſt whom he made a gallant defence; and under the walls of that place many rencounters paſſed, which reſembled more the ſingle combats of chivalry, than the military operations of armies. One of theſe was too remarkable, by its circumſtances and its event, to be omitted. Robert happened to encounter the king; who being concealed by his helmet, a fierce combat enſued. But at laſt the prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horſe; when calling for aſſiſtance, his voice diſcovered him to his ſon; who, ſtruck with a ſenſe of remorſe, duty, and the dread of greater guilt, inſtantly flung himſelf at the feet of his king and father, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchaſe forgiveneſs by any atonement. A return of kindneſs, however, did not immediately enſue. William's military pride was wounded, and his reſentment was too obſtinate at once to yield; but a reconciliation was ſoon brought about by the interpoſition of the queen, and other common friends [16].

LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1076

A. D. 1079.

THE peaceable ſtate of William's affairs now gave him leiſure to finiſh an undertaking which proves his great and extenſive genius, and does honour to his memory. It was a general ſurvey of all the lands of England: their extent in each diſtrict, their proprie-

A. D. 1081.

16. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

PART I. A. D. 1081.

tors, tenures, value; the quantity of meadow, paſture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and in ſome counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and ſlaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. This valuable piece of antiquity, called the Domeſday-book, is ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, and helps to illuſtrate to us the ancient ſtate of England.

WILLIAM, like all the Normans, was much attached to the manly amuſement of hunting: and his paſſion for this amuſement he cruelly indulged at the expence of his unhappy ſubjects. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts, which the Saxon kings poſſeſſed in all parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence. Accordingly, for that purpoſe, he laid waſte the country for an extent of thirty miles in Hampſhire, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and demoliſhing churches and convents, without making the ſufferers any compenſation for the injury [17]. He alſo increaſed the rigour of the game-laws, now become ſo oppreſſive.

THIS monarch's death was occaſioned by a quarrel not altogether worthy of his life. A witticiſm gave riſe to a war. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed ſome time by ſickneſs, while in Normandy; a circumſtance which gave Philip I. of France occaſion to ſay, with that vivacity natural to his country, that he was ſurpriſed his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. William, enraged at this levity, ſwore "by the brightneſs and reſurrection of

17. Gul. Malmeſ. H. Hunting. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

"God!"

"God!" his uſual oath, That, as ſoon as he was up, he would preſent ſo many *lights* at Notre-dame, as would give little pleaſure to the king of France; alluding to the uſual practice, at that time, of women carrying a torch to church, after child-birth. Accordingly, on his recovery, he led an army into the Iſle of France, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword. But the progreſs of theſe hoſtilities was ſtopt, by an accident which put an end to the Engliſh monarch's life. His horſe ſuddenly ſtarting aſide, he bruiſed his belly on the pummel of his ſaddle; and this bruiſe, joined to his former bad habit of body, brought on a mortification, of which he died, in the ſixty-third year of his age[18]. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon, Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc deſiring him to crown William king of England; and he bequeathed to Henry, the youngeſt of the three, the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda.

LETTER XXIII.

A. D. 1086.

A. D. 1087.

THE characters of princes are beſt ſeen in their actions: I ſhall, however, give you a conciſe character of the Conqueror; for ſuch he ultimately proved, though little more than a conditional ſovereign, when he firſt received the ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh nation[19]. The ſpirit of William I. ſays a philoſophic hiſtorian, was bold and enterpriſing, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the reſtraints of juſtice, and ſtill leſs un-

18. M. Paris. M. Weſtminſt. Order. Vital.

19. William acted ſo uniformly like a conqueror, That, before the end of his reign, there was not left one Engliſhman, who was either earl, baron, biſhop, or abbot. (Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iv. H. Hunt. lib. vii.) No revolution, ancient or modern, was ever perhaps attended with ſo complete and ſudden a change of power and property, as that accompliſhed by the duke of Normandy. Nor was the adminiſtration of any prince ever more abſolute than that of William I. though the government which he eſtabliſhed was by no means a deſpotiſm, but a feudal monarchy, as has been already ſhewn.

PART I. A.D. 1087.

der thoſe of humanity, ever ſubmitted to the dictates of reaſon and ſound policy. Though not inſenſible to generoſity, he was hardened againſt compaſſion; and he ſeemed equally oſtentatious, and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

WILLIAM II. ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, was inſtantly crowned king of England, in conſequence of his father's recommendatory letters to Lanfranc, the primate; and Robert, at the ſame time, took peaceable poſſeſſion of Normandy.

BUT this partition of the Conqueror's dominions, though apparently made without any violence or oppoſition, occaſioned in England many diſcontents, which ſeemed to promiſe a ſudden revolution. The Norman barons, who generally poſſeſſed large eſtates both in England and their own country, were uneaſy at the ſeparation of thoſe territories, and foreſaw that as it would be impoſſible for them to preſerve long their allegiance to two maſters, they muſt neceſſarily reſign either their ancient property or their new acquiſitions. Robert's title to Normandy they eſteemed inconteſtible: his claim to England they thought plauſible; and they all deſired that this prince, who alone had any pretenſions to unite the duchy and kingdom, might be put in poſſeſſion of both [20].

A COMPARISON between the perſonal qualities of the two princes, alſo led the malcontents to prefer the elder. Robert was brave, open, ſincere, generous; whereas William, though not leſs brave than his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and

20. Orderic. Vital.

ſeemed

LETTER XXIII.

ſeemed diſpoſed to govern more by fear than the love of his people. Odo, biſhop of Baieux, who had been releaſed from priſon on the death of the Conqueror, enforced all theſe motives with the diſſatisfied barons, and engaged many of them in a formal conſpiracy to dethrone the king. A. D. 1088.

EXPECTING immediate ſupport from Normandy, the conſpirators haſtened to put themſelves in a military poſture: and William, ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, endeavoured to provide againſt the threatening danger by gaining the affections of the native Engliſh; who zealouſly embraced his cauſe, upon receiving ſome general promiſes of good treatment, and leave to hunt in the royal foreſts, having now loſt all hopes of recovering their ancient liberties. By their aſſiſtance the king was enabled to ſubdue A. D. 1088. the rebels; but the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him, only were the gainers. He paid no regard to the promiſes made to his Engliſh ſubjects, who ſtill found themſelves expoſed to the ſame oppreſſions which they had experienced during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were augmented by the tyrannical temper of the preſent monarch [20]. Even the privileges of the church, which were held ſo ſacred in thoſe days, formed but a feeble rampart againſt the uſurpations of William; yet the terror of his authority, confirmed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, kept every one in ſubjection, notwithſtanding the murmurs of the clergy, and preſerved general tranquillity in England.

20. *Chron. Sax.* Gul. Malmeſ. lib. iv. The application of William, however, and the ſervice they had rendered him, made the natives ſenſible of their importance by reaſon of their numbers: and they gradually recovered their conſequence in the ſtruggles between the king and the nobles.

PART I. A.D. 1089. WILLIAM even thought himſelf ſufficiently powerful to diſturb his brother in the poſſeſſion of Normandy, and bribed ſeveral Norman barons to favour his unjuſt claim. The duke had alſo reaſon to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who inherited more of his father's money than his poſſeſſions, and had furniſhed Robert, during his preparations againſt England, with the ſum of three thouſand marks; in return for which ſlender ſupply, he had been put in poſſeſſion of the Cotentin, almoſt one-third of the duke's dominions. But theſe two brothers, notwithſtanding their mutual jealouſies, now united, in order to defend their territories againſt A.D. 1090. the ambition of the king of England, who appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army: and affairs ſeemed to be haſtening to extremity, when an accommodation was brought about by the interpoſition of the nobility.

PRINCE Henry, however, diſguſted at the terms of that agreement, in which he thought himſelf treated with neglect, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and infeſted the neighbouring country with his incurſions. Robert and William, his two brothers, beſieged him in this place, and had nearly obliged him to ſurrender by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his brother's diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to obtain a ſupply, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table; a conduct which could only have been dictated by the generous but romantic ſpirit of chivalry that prevailed in thoſe times, and with which the duke was ſtrongly infected. Being reproved by William for this imprudent generoſity, Robert replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my brother "to die of thirſt?—Where ſhall we find another bro- "ther, when he is gone?"

WILLIAM

LETTER XXIII.

WILLIAM, during this ſiege, alſo performed an act of generoſity leſs ſuited to his character. Riding out alone to ſurvey the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. One of the ſoldiers drew his ſword, in order to diſpatch the king. "Hold "knave!" cried William, "I am the king of Eng- "land." The ſoldier ſuſpended his blow, and raiſed the king from the ground; who, charmed with the fellow's behaviour, rewarded him handſomely, and took him into his ſervice [21]. A.D. 1090.

PRINCE Henry was at laſt obliged to capitulate; and being deſpoiled of all his dominions, wandered about for ſome time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty. A.D. 1091.

IN the mean time William was engaged in humbling the Scots and Welſh, who had infeſted England with their incurſions during his Norman expedition. He had alſo occaſion to quell a conſpiracy of his own barons, who meant to exalt to the throne Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. But the noiſe of theſe petty wars and commotions was quite ſunk in the tumult of the Cruſades, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, and have ſince attracted the curioſity of mankind, as the moſt ſingular examples of human folly that were ever exhibited on the face of our globe The cauſe and conſequences of thoſe pious enterpriſes I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider: at preſent I ſhall only ſpeak of them as they affect the hiſtory of England. A.D. 1095.

ROBERT, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and miſtaken generoſity of his ſpirit, had early enliſted himſelf in the firſt cruſade; but being always

21. Gul. Malmeſ. ubi ſup. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

PART I. A.D. 1095. unprovided with money, he found it would be impoſſible for him, without ſome ſupply, to appear, in a manner ſuitable to his rank, at the head of his numerous vaſſals, who, tranſported with the general fury, were deſirous of following him into Aſia. He therefore reſolved to mortgage, or to ſell his dominions, which he had not prudence to govern; and he offered them to his brother William, who kept aloof from all thoſe fanatical and romantic warriors, for ſo ſmall a ſum as ten thouſand marks[23]. The bargain was A.D. 1096. concluded, and William was put in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, providing himſelf with a magnificent train, ſet out for the Holy Land in purſuit of glory, and in full hopes of ſecuring his eternal ſalvation.

In the mean time William, who regarded only the things of this world, was engaged in a quarrel with Anſelm, commonly called St. Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a Piedmonteſe monk, whom he had called over in a fit of remorſe, and whom he wanted to deprive of his ſee for refractory behaviour. Anſelm appealed to Rome againſt the king's injuſtice, and affairs came to ſuch extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, deſired permiſſion A.D. 1097. to retire beyond ſea. It was granted him, but all his temporalities were confiſcated. He was nevertheleſs received with great reſpect by Urban II. who conſidered him as a martyr in the cauſe of religion, and even threatened the king with the ſentence of excommunication on account of his proceedings againſt the primate[24].

23. Our old hiſtorians are not agreed in regard to the particulars of this tranſaction; but the ten thouſand marks ſeem to have been paid for a mortgage, or uninterrupted poſſeſſion, of five years. Vid. Eadmer. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

24. Ibid.

ANSELM

ANSELM afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the council of Bari, where the famous diſpute between the Greek and Latin churches, relative to the *proceſſion* of the Third perſon of the Trinity was agitated; namely, Whether the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only. He alſo aſſiſted in a council at Rome, where ſpiritual cenſures were denounced againſt all eccleſiaſtics who did homage to laymen for their benefices, and on all laymen who exacted ſuch homage. The arguments made uſe of on that occaſion, in favour of the clergy, are worthy of the ignorance of the age, and ſtrongly mark the groſs ſuperſtition into which the human mind was ſunk.

A. D. 1097.

A. D. 1699.

THE ceremony of homage, by the feudal cuſtoms, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, was, That the vaſſal ſhould throw himſelf on his knees, put his hands between thoſe of his ſuperior, and in that poſture ſwear fealty to him. Churchmen had been accuſtomed thus to do homage for their benefices. But this council declared ſuch homage inconſiſtent with the dignity of the ſacerdotal character, as well as with the independency of the church: "For," ſaid Urban, "it is execrable, that holy hands, appointed to per-"form what was never granted to any angel, to create "God the Creator, and offer him to God, his Fa-"ther, for the ſalvation of mankind, ſhould be re-"duced to the humiliating baſeneſs of ſlaviſhly ming-"ling with profane hands; which, beſides being ſoil-"ed with rapine and blood-ſhed, are day and night "employed in impure offices, and obſcene con-"tacts [24]!"

24. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. Eadmer. Brompton. Sim. Dunelm. Eadmerius, who was preſent at that council, tells us, that on the cloſe of this impious ſpeech of His Holineſs, all the venerable fathers cried "*Amen! Amen!*"

PART I. A. D. 1099. THE fanaticiſm of the times afforded the king of England a ſecond opportunity of increaſing his dominions. Poitiers and Guienne were offered to be mortgaged to him, for the ſame pious purpoſe that had induced his brother Robert to put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Maine. The bargain was concluded, and William had prepared a fleet and army to eſcort the money, ſtipulated as the price of his new territory, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it, when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the ſole amuſement, and, except war, the chief occupation of princes in thoſe rude times, when this accident happened. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his addreſs in archery, attended him in that recreation, of which the New Foreſt was the ſcene; and as William had diſmounted after the chace, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag, which ſuddenly ſtarted before him. The arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtruck the king to the heart, and inſtantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea-ſhore, embarked for France, and joined the cruſade in an expedition to the Holy-land[25]: a penance which he impoſed on himſelf for this involuntary crime, and which was deemed ſufficient to expiate crimes of the blackeſt dye.

A. D. 1100.

WILLIAM II. though a man of ſound underſtanding, appears to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour, and an unkind and ungenerous relation. His vices, however, have probably been much exaggerated by

25. Chron. Sax. R. Hoveden. H. Hunt.

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the monkiſh writers, the only hiſtorians of thoſe times, as he was utterly void of ſuperſtition, and ſeemingly wanting in a decent reſpect for religion. Of this many examples might be produced, but one will be ſufficient. When the body of the clergy preſented a petition, that he would give them leave to ſend a form of prayer to be uſed in all the churches of England, "That God would move the heart of the king "to appoint an archbiſhop!" he having kept the revenues, or temporalities of the ſee of Canterbury in his own hands almoſt five years, he careleſsly replied, "You may pray as you pleaſe, and I will act as I "pleaſe[26]." Had he lived a few years longer, he would greatly have enlarged his dominions; and as he was the moſt powerful and politic prince in Europe, he might perhaps have become its arbiter. He built the Tower, Weſtminſter-hall, and London-bridge, monuments of his greatneſs, which ſtill remain. His moſt liberal meaſure was the ſending of an army into Scotland, in order to reſtore prince Edgar, the true heir of that crown, and ſon of Malcolm III. ſurnamed Canmore, by Margaret, ſiſter of Edgar Atheling. The enterprize ſucceeded.

TOWARD the latter part of this reign, Magnus king of Norway made a deſcent on the Iſle of Angleſea, but was beat off by the earl of Shrewſbury. Since that repulſe the northern nations have made no attempt againſt England.

As William Rufus was never married, and conſequently could leave no lawful iſſue, the kingdom of England now belonged to his brother Robert, both by the right of birth and of ſolemn compact, ratified by

26. Gul. Malmeſ. p. 124. col. i.

the

PART I. A.D. 1100.

the nobility. But as prince Henry was hunting in the New Foreſt when the king was ſlain, he immediately galloped to Wincheſter; ſecured the royal treaſure, was ſaluted king, and proceeded to the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority. Senſible however, that a crown uſurped againſt all the rules of juſtice would ſit very unſteady on his head, Henry reſolved, by fair profeſſions at leaſt, to gain the affections of all his ſubjects. Beſides taking the uſual coronation oath, to maintain the conſtitution, and to execute juſtice, he paſſed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppreſſions complained of during the reign of his father and his brother: and he promiſed a general confirmation and obſervance of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor [27].

In order farther to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, the king recalled archbiſhop Anſelm, and reinſtated him in the ſee of Canterbury. He alſo married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. And this marriage, more than any other meaſure of his reign, tended to endear Henry to his Engliſh ſubjects; who had felt ſo ſeverely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with infinite regret on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild adminiſtration, when the blood of their native princes ſhould be united with that of their new ſovereigns [28]. But the policy and prudence of Henry I. ran great hazard of being fruſtrated by the ſudden appearance of his brother Robert, who returned from the Holy Land about a month after the death of William II. took poſſeſſion of Normandy without reſiſtance, and made preparations for aſſerting his title to the crown of England.

27. M. Paris. R. Hagulſtad. 28. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

LETTER XXIII.

THE great reputation which Robert had acquired in the East favoured his pretenſions; and the Norman barons, ſtill impreſſed with apprehenſions of the conſequences of the ſeparation of the duchy and kingdom, diſcovered the ſame diſcontent which had appeared on the acceſſion of Rufus. Henry was therefore in danger of being deſerted by all his ſubjects: and it was only through the exhortations of archbiſhop Anſelm, that they were engaged to oppoſe Robert, who had landed at Portſmouth. The two armies continued ſome days in ſight of each other without coming to action; and by the interpoſition of the ſame prelate, an accommodation was happily brought about between the brothers. A. D. 1100. A. D. 1101.

IN this treaty it was agreed, That Robert ſhould reſign his pretenſions to England, and receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; that if either of the princes died without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions; that the adherents of each ſhould be pardoned, and reſtored to all their poſſeſſions, and that neither the king nor the duke ſhould thenceforth countenance the enemies of each other [29]. But theſe conditions, though ſo favourable to Henry, were ſoon violated by his rapacity and ambition. He reſtored indeed the eſtates of Robert's adherents, but took care they ſhould not remain long in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of them. Various pretences were formed for deſpoiling and humbling all whom he thought had either inclination or abilities to diſturb his government.

ENRAGED at the fate of his friends, Robert imprudently ventured into England, but met with ſuch

29. *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

a bad

PART I. A. D. 1101. a bad reception, that he became alarmed for his own ſafety, and was glad to purchaſe his eſcape with the loſs of his penſion. One indiſcretion followed another. The affairs of Normandy fell into confuſion: Henry went over, by invitation, to regulate them; but, inſtead of ſupporting his brother's authority, he increaſed the diſcontents by every art of bribery, intrigue, and inſinuation, and at length made himA. D. 1106. ſelf maſter of the duchy. The unfortunate Robert, who ſeemed born only to be the ſport of fortune, was carried priſoner into England; where he remained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-eight years, and died a captive in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire [30].

THE acquiſition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition, being the ancient patrimonial inheritance of his family, and the only territory which gave him any weight or conſideration on the continent. But the injuſtice of the uſurpation was the ſource of much inquietude, and the jealouſy of the French monarch gave riſe to thoſe wars which were to prove ſo fatal to poſterity. Lewis VI. in concert with the counts of Anjou and Flanders, ſupported the claim of William, ſon of Robert, to the duchy of Normandy: he even craved the aſſiſtance of the church for reinſtating the true heir in his dominions, and repreſented the enormity of detaining in priſon ſo brave a prince as Robert, one of the moſt eminent champions of the Croſs. But Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He detached the count of Anjou from the alliance, by contracting his eldeſt ſon, William, to that prince's daughter, while he gained the pope and his favourites by

30. *Annal. Waverl.* Gul. Malmeſ. lib. v.

liberal

liberal preſents and promiſes. Calixtus II. who was then in France, declared, after a conference with Henry, That of all men, whom he had ever ſeen, the king of England was beyond compariſon the moſt *eloquent* and *perſuaſive* [31]. The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth diſregarded. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1119.

THE military operations of Lewis proved as unſucceſsful as his intrigues. The French and Engliſh armies engaged near Andeley, in Normandy; where a ſharp action enſued, in which William, the ſon of Robert, behaved with great bravery. Henry himſelf was in imminent danger. He was wounded in the head by a gallant Norman, named Criſpin, who had followed the fortunes of William; but, rather rouſed than intimidated by the blow, the king collected all his might, and beat his antagoniſt to the ground [32]. The Engliſh, animated by the example of their ſovereign, put the French to total rout; and an accommodation ſoon after took place between the two monarchs, in which the intereſts of young William were entirely neglected.

BUT Henry's public proſperity was much overbalanced by a domeſtic misfortune. His ſon William, who had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him into Normandy, but periſhed in his return, with all his retinue. The royal youth was anxious to get firſt to land; and the captain of his veſſel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedleſsly ran her on a rock, where ſhe was immediately daſhed to pieces. Beſide the prince, above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were loſt on this occaſion. The king was A. D 1120.

31. M. Paris. H. Hunting. 32. Ibid.

ſo

PART I. A. D. 1120. so much affected by the news, that he is ſaid never to have ſmiled more[33].

As prince William left no children, Henry had now no legitimate iſſue, except his daughter Matilda, whom he had betrothed when a child to the emperor Henry V. who alſo dying without children, the king A.D. 1127. beſtowed his daughter on Geoffery Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſon of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to ſecure her ſucceſſion, by having her recognized heireſs of all his dominions: and he obliged the barons both of Normandy and England to ſwear fealty to her. After A.D. 1133. ſix years ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to inſure the ſucceſſion, made all the nobility renew the oath of fealty which they had already ſworn to her, and alſo to ſwear fealty to her infant ſon[34].

THE joy of this event, and the pleaſure of his daughter's company, made Henry take up his reſidence in A.D. 1135. Normandy; where he died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda heireſs of all his dominions. He was one of the moſt able and accompliſhed princes that ever filled the Engliſh throne, poſſeſſing all the qualities, both mental and perſonal, that could adorn the high ſtation to which he attained, or fit him for the government of an extenſive territory. His learning, which procured him the name of *Beau-clerc*, or the *fine ſcholar*, would have diſtinguiſhed him in private life, and his talents would have given him an aſcendant in any condition.

THE affairs of France, my dear Philip, and the Cruſades, which took their riſe in that kingdom, claim

33. R. Hoveden. 34. Ypod. Neuſt. R. de Diceto.

your

your attention, before I ſpeak of the diſputed ſucceſſion of Matilda, and of her ſon Henry II. commonly known by the name of Plantagenet, whoſe reign affords ſome of the moſt intereſting ſpectacles in the Hiſtory of England. In the mean time it will be proper to take a ſlight review of the change produced in our ancient conſtitution, and in the condition of our Saxon anceſtors, by the Norman conqueſt or revolution.

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1135.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE original government of the Anglo-Saxons, as we have ſeen, was a kind of military democracy, under a king or chief, whoſe authority was very limited, and whoſe office was not ſtrictly hereditary, but depended on the will of the people. This government they brought into Britain with them. Matters of ſmall conſequence were ſettled by the king in council; but all affairs of general concern or national importance, the making of laws, the impoſing of taxes, the declaring of war, were laid before the Wittenagemot or parliament, and determined by the majority of voices, or at leaſt by the preponderation of public opinion [35].

FROM that aſſembly no freeman could be ſaid to be excluded; for although a certain portion of land was neceſſary as a qualification, a huſbandman or tradeſman no ſooner acquired that portion, which was different at different times of the Anglo-Saxon government [36], than he had a right to be preſent, not only as a ſpectator, a privilege that was common to

35. Spelman, *Gloſſ.* in voc. *Wittenagemot.*

36. It was originally only five hides, but was raiſed by degrees as high as forty.

every

PART I. every one, but as a conſtituent member of the Wittenagemot. And all merchants, who had made two voyages to foreign countries, on their own account, became poſſeſſed of the ſame right, by a law paſſed in the reign of king Athelſtan [37]; ſo that our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors might make with *truth* the glorious boaſt of modern Engliſhmen, That every member of the community ſhared with his ſovereign the power and authority by which he was governed. Little wonder therefore, that the great lines of this ennobling ſyſtem of freedom, long after it was deſtroyed, ſeemed to be engraved in their hearts, by the keen ſorrow with which it was regretted!

If the Anglo-Saxons, as a nation, had reaſon to think themſelves happy in their deliberative and legiſlative, they were no leſs ſo in their juridical capacity. Juſtice was univerſally the care of the great body of the people: and a regular chain of appeal was eſtabliſhed from the tithing or decennary, conſiſting of ten families, up to the Wittenagemot, which was a ſupreme court of law, as well as a national council or aſſembly. But the grand ſecurity of juſtice, and even of liberty and property, was the court called the *ſhiremote*, held twice a year in every county, at a ſtated time and place; where, along with the alderman or earl of the ſhire, and the biſhop of the dioceſe, all the clergy and landholders of the county were obliged to be preſent, and determined, by the majority of voices, all cauſes brought before them, in whatever ſtage of their progreſs; beginning with the cauſes of the church, taking next under cognizance the pleas of the crown, and laſtly the diſputes of private perſons [38].

37. Wilkins, *Leges Saxon.* Selden, *Tit. Hon.*
38. Spelman, *Reliquiæ.* Hickeſi, *Diſſertat. Epiſt.*

As

As the duke of Normandy, by taking the uſual oath adminiſtered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, had ſolemnly engaged to maintain the conſtitution, and to adminiſter juſtice according to the laws, the Engliſh nation had reaſon to believe they had merely changed their native ſovereign for one of foreign extraction; a matter to them of ſmall concern, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, eſpecially as the line of ſucceſſion had been already broken by the uſurpation or election of Harold. But although William affected moderation for a while, and even adopted a few of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, in order to quiet the apprehenſions of his new ſubjects, to theſe laws he paid little regard; and no ſooner did he find himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, than he entirely ſubverted the form of government, and the manner of adminiſtering juſtice, throughout the whole kingdom. The government which he ſubſtituted was a rigid feudal monarchy, or military ariſtocracy, in which a regular chain of ſubordination and ſervice was eſtabliſhed, from the ſovereign or commander in chief, to the ſerf or villain; and which, like all feudal governments, was attended with a grievous depreſſion of the body of the people, who were daily expoſed to the inſults, violences, and exactions of the nobles, whoſe vaſſals they all were, and from whoſe oppreſſive juriſdiction it was difficult and dangerous for them to appeal.

This depreſſion, as might be expected, was more complete and humiliating in England, under the firſt Anglo-Norman princes, than in any other feudal government. William I. by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiſcations, had become, in the courſe of his reign, proprietor of almoſt all the lands in the kingdom. Theſe lands, however, he could not retain, had he been even willing, in his

PART. I. own hands: he was under the neceſſity of beſtowing the greater part of them on his Norman captains or nobles, the companions of his conqueſt and the inſtruments of his tyranny, who had led their own vaſſals to battle [39]. But thoſe grants he clogged with heavy feudal ſervices, and payments or preſtations, which no one dared to refuſe. He was the general of a victorious army, which was ſtill obliged to continue in a military poſture, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſions it had ſeized. And the Anglo-Norman barons, and tenants *in capite*, by knights-ſervice, who only held immediately of the crown, and with the dignified clergy, formed the national aſſembly, impoſed obligations yet more ſevere on their vaſſals, the inferior landholders, conſiſting chiefly of unhappy Engliſh gentlemen, as well as on the body of the people, for whom they ſeemed to have no bowels of compaſſion [40].

But

39. Nothing can more ſtrongly indicate that neceſſity, than the following anecdote. Earl Warren, when queſtioned, in a ſubſequent reign, concerning his right to the lands he poſſeſſed, boldly drew his ſword. "This," ſaid he, "is my title!—William the Baſtard did not "conquer England himſelf: the Norman barons, and my anceſtor, a-"mong the reſt, were joint adventurers in the enterprize." Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i.

40. The ſtate of England, at the death of William the Conqueror, is thus deſcribed by one of our ancient hiſtorians, who was almoſt contemporary with that prince. "The Normans," ſays he, "had now "fully executed the wrath of Heaven upon the Engliſh. There was "hardly *one* of that nation who poſſeſſed any *power*; they were *all* in-"volved in *ſervitude* and *ſorrow*; inſomuch, that to be called an *Engliſh-*"*man* was conſidered as a *reproach*. In thoſe miſerable times many *op-*"*preſſive taxes* and *tyrannical cuſtoms* were *introduced*. The *king himſelf*, "when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came "and offered more, and afterwards a third, and offered ſtill more, *vio-*"*lated* all his *former pactions*, and *gave* them to him who offered *moſt*: "and the great men were *inflamed* with ſuch a *rage* for *money*, that they "cared not by what *means* it was *acquired*. The more they talked of "juſtice, the more injuriouſly they acted. Thoſe who were called "*juſticiaries*," alluding moſt likely to the barons in their courts, "were "the *fountains* of all *iniquity*. Sheriffs and judges, whoſe peculiar duty "it was to pronounce righteous judgements, were the moſt *cruel* of all "*tyrants*, and greater *plunderers* than common *thieves* and *robbers*." (Hen. Hunting.

LETTER XXIII.

BUT the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, and the tyrannical and licentious ſpirit of the nobles, proved ultimately favourable to general liberty. The oppreſſed people looked up to the king for protection: and circumſtances enabled them to obtain it. The defect in the title of William II. and of Henry I. induced them to liſten to the complaints of their Engliſh ſubjects, and to redreſs many of their grievances. The people, in ſome meaſure ſatisfied with the relief afforded them, became ſenſible of their conſequence, and of their obligations to the crown; while the barons, finding themſelves in quiet poſſeſſion of their Engliſh eſtates, and apprehending no future diſturbance from the natives, bore with impatience the burdens impoſed upon them by William I. and to which they had readily ſubmitted, in the hour of conqueſt and of danger. They ſaw the neceſſity of being more

Hunting. lib. viii.) And the author of the Saxon Chronicle, in ſpeaking of the miſeries of a ſubſequent reign, ſays that the great barons "*grievouſly oppreſſed* the *poor people* with building caſtles; and when they "were built, they filled them with wicked men or rather devils, who "*ſeized* both *men* and *women* ſuppoſed to be *poſſeſſed* of any *money*; threw "them into priſon, and put them to *more cruel tortures* than the martyrs ever *endured*." (*Chron. Sax.* p. 238.) The truth of this melancholy deſcription is corroborated by the teſtimony of William of Malmſbury. *Hiſt.* lib. ii.

The great power and ſucceſs of the Normans made them licentious as well as tyrannical. This licentiouſneſs was ſo great, that the princeſs Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, who received her education in England, and was afterwards married to Henry I. thought it neceſſary to wear the religious habit, in order to preſerve her perſon from violation. Before a great council of the Anglo-Norman clergy, ſhe herſelf declared, That ſhe had been induced by no other motive to put on the veil. And the council admitted her plea, in the following memorable words:—"When *the great King William conquered this land*, many of his followers, elated with their extraordinary ſucceſs, and thinking that *all things* ought to be *ſubſervient* to their *will* and *pleaſure*, not only *ſeized* the *poſſeſſions* of the *vanquiſhed*, but *invaded* the *honour* of their *matrons* and *virgins*. Hence many young ladies, who dreaded ſuch violence, were driven to take ſhelter in convents, and to wear the veil as a farther *ſecurity* to their virtue." Eadmer. *Hiſt.* lib. iii.

PART I. indulgent to their vaſſals, in order to obtain ſufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the ſovereign, and of connecting their cauſe with that of the people. And the people, always formidable by their numbers, courted by both parties, and ſometimes ſiding with one, ſometimes with the other, in the bloody conteſts between the king and the barons, recovered by various progreſſive ſteps, which I ſhall have occaſion to trace in the courſe of my narration, their ancient and natural right to a place in the parliament or national aſſembly.

THUS reſtored to a ſhare in the legiſlature, the Engliſh commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and by a long and vigorous ſtruggle, maintained with unexampled perſeverance, they wreſted from both the king and the nobles, all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon anceſtors had been robbed by the violent invaſion, and cruel policy of William the Norman. To thoſe rights they were entitled as men, by the great law of nature and reaſon, which declares the *welfare* of the *whole* community to be the end of all civil government; and as Engliſhmen, by inheritance. In whatever light, therefore, we view the privileges of the commons, they are RESUMPTIONS not USURPATIONS.

IN order to eſtabliſh this important political truth, ſome of our popular writers have endeavoured to prove, That the people of England were by no means robbed of their liberty or property by William I. and that the *commons* had a *ſhare* in the *legiſlature* under *all* the Anglo-Norman princes. But as this poſition cannot be maintained without violating hiſtorical teſtimony, the advocates for prerogative have had greatly the advantage in that contentious diſ-

pute:

pute [41]. I have therefore made the uſurpations of William, in violation of his coronation oath, the baſis of my argument. Uſurpation can create no right, nor the exerciſe of violence any prerogative. LETTER XXIII.

LETTER XXIV.

FRANCE, *under* PHILIP I. *and* LEWIS VI. *with ſome Account of the firſt* CRUSADE.

PHILIP I. as I have already obſerved [1], had been perfectly well educated. Nor was he by any means deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had acquired a wrong bias, which diſcovered itſelf in all his actions, and ſwayed him upon all occaſions, to prefer his intereſt, or his inclinations, to his honour. His reign is not ſo remarkable for any thing, as his marrying Bertrand de Montford, ducheſs of Anjou, while her huſband and his queen were both alive. For this irregularity he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the firſt Cruſade was preached for the recovery of the Holy Land [2]; a circumſtance which naturally leads me to ſpeak of that extravagant expedition, its cauſes, and its conſequences. LETTER XXIV. A. D. 1095.

41. Mr. Hume, in particular, has triumphed over every adverſary. His collected arguments, ſupported by facts, to prove "that the commons originally formed no part of the Anglo-Norman parliament," are ſtrong and ſatisfactory. But the following clauſe in the Great Charter is of itſelf ſufficient to determine the diſpute. "We will cauſe to be "ſummoned," ſays the king, "as a COMMON COUNCIL of the KINGDOM, "the *archbiſhops, biſhops, earls*, and *great barons*, perſonally, by our letters; "and beſides we will cauſe to be ſummoned, in general, by our ſheriffs "and bailiffs, all *others* who HOLD of us IN CHIEF." (*Mag. Chart.* c. xiv.) This indubitable teſtimony, ſo full and concluſive, when duly weighed, muſt preclude all future controverſy on the ſubject.

1. Letter XVIII.

2. Harduin. *Concil.* tom. xi.

PART I. GREGORY VII. among his other vaſt ideas, had formed, as we have ſeen, the project of uniting the weſtern Chriſtians againſt the Mahometans, and of recovering Paleſtine from the hands of thoſe Infidels[3]; and his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. by which he declared himſelf an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obſtructed the progreſs of this undertaking, conducted by ſo able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were fully prepared for ſuch an enterprize. The work, however, was reſerved for a meaner inſtrument; for a man whoſe condition could excite no jealouſy, and whoſe head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before I mention this man, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt at that time, and of the paſſion for pilgrimages, which then prevailed in Europe.

WE naturally view with veneration and delight thoſe places which have been the reſidence of any illuſtrious perſonage, or the ſcene of any great tranſaction. Hence the enthuſiaſm with which the literati ſtill viſit the ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the ſuperſtitious devotion with which Chriſtians, from the earlieſt ages of the church, were accuſtomed to viſit that country, where their religion had taken its riſe, and that city in which the Meſſiah had died for the redemption of thoſe who believe in his name. Pilgrimages to the ſhrines of ſaints and martyrs were alſo common; but as this diſtant pilgrimage could not be performed without conſiderable expence, fatigue, and danger, it appeared more meritorious than all others, and came to be conſidered as an expiation for almoſt every crime. And an opinion which prevailed over Europe towards the cloſe of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, increaſed the number

3. See Letter XXII.

and the ardour of the credulous devotees, that undertook this tedious journey. The thouſand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelations, were ſuppoſed to be accompliſhed, and the end of the world at hand. A general conſternation, as I have had occaſion to notice, ſeized the minds of Chriſtians. Many relinquiſhed their poſſeſſions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined Chriſt would ſuddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead [4].

But the Chriſtians, though ultimately undeceived in regard to the Day of Judgment, had the mortification, in theſe pious journies, to ſee the holy ſepulchre, and the other places made ſacred by the preſence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of Infidels. The followers, and the countrymen of Mahomet, had early made themſelves maſters of Paleſtine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect againſt ſo warlike an enemy. They gave little diſturbance, however, to thoſe zealous pilgrims, who daily flocked to Jeruſalem: nay they allowed every one, after paying a moderate tribute, to viſit the holy ſepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and return in peace. But the Turks, a Tartar tribe, who had alſo embraced Mahometiſm, having wreſted Syria from the Saracens, as you have ſeen, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem, pilgrims were thenceforth expoſed to outrages of every kind from theſe fierce barbarians. And this change coinciding with the panic of the conſummation of all things, and the ſuppoſed appearance of Chriſt on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every pilgrim, who returned from

4. *Chron.* Will. Godelli ap. Bouquet, *Recueil des Hiſt. de France*, tom. x.

PART I. Paleſtine, related the dangers he had encountered in viſiting the holy city, and deſcribed, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to uſe the language of thoſe zealots, not only profaned the ſepulchre of the Lord by their preſence, but derided the ſacred myſteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was ſpeedily expected to hold his great tribunal[5].

WHILE the minds of men were thus rouſed, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and was ſo deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now expoſed Chriſtians, that he ran from province to province on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the ſame enthuſiaſtic ardour for it with which he himſelf was animated.

URBAN II. who had at firſt been doubtful of the ſucceſs of ſuch a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and ſummoned at Placentia a council, which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being ſufficient to contain the multitude: it conſiſted of four thouſand eccleſiaſtics, and thirty thouſand laymen, who all declared for the war againſt the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprize. Urban therefore found it neceſſary to call another council the ſame year at Clermont in Auvergne, where the greateſt prelates, nobles, and princes, attended; and when the pope and the hermit had con-

A. D. 1095.

5. Eccard. *Corp. Script. Medii Ævi*, vol. i.

cluded

cluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole aſſembly, as if impelled by an immediate inſpiration, exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God!— "It is the will of God!"—words which were deemed ſo memorable, and believed to be ſo much the reſult of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the ſacred ſtandard, and as the ſignal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of the champions of the *Croſs*; the ſymbol choſen by the devoted combatants, in alluſion to the death of Chriſt, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right ſhoulder, whence their expedition got the name of a Cruſade [6]. A.D. 1095.

PERSONS of all ranks flew to arms with the utmoſt ardour. Not only the gallant nobles of that age, with their martial followers, whom the boldneſs of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific ſtations of life; eccleſiaſtics of every order, and even women, concealing their ſex beneath the diſguiſe of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking which was deemed ſo ſacred and meritorious. The greateſt criminals were forward in a ſervice, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they ſucceeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promiſed a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, paſſion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the ſame end; and the combination of ſo many cauſes produced that wonderful emigration which made the princeſs Anna Comnena ſay, That Europe, looſened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, ſeemed in one united body to precipitate itſelf upon Aſia [7].

6. Theod. Ruinart. in *Vit. Urbani* II. Baron. *Annal. Eccleſ.* tom. xi.
7. Alexias, lib. x.

THE

PART I.

A. D. 1095. THE number of adventurers ſoon became ſo great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king, Robert, duke of Normandy, Raymond, count of Thouloufe, Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant, and Stephen, count of Blois, grew apprehenſive that the greatneſs of the armament would defeat its purpoſe. They therefore permitted an undiſciplined multitude, computed at

A. D. 1096. three hundred thouſand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyleſs, and other wild fanatics.

PETER and his army, before which he walked with ſandals on his feet, a rope about his waiſt, and every other mark of monkiſh auſterity, took the road to Conſtantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godeſcald, a German prieſt, and his banditti, took the ſame route; and truſting that Heaven, by ſupernatural means would ſupply all their neceſſities, they made no proviſion for ſubſiſtence on their march. But they ſoon found themſelves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles. Want is ingenious in ſuggeſting pretences for its ſupply. Their fury firſt diſcharged itſelf upon the Jews. As the ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, they thought themſelves authoriſed to take revenge upon his murderers: they accordingly fell upon thoſe unhappy people, and put to the ſword without mercy ſuch as would not ſubmit to baptiſm, ſeizing their effects as lawful prize. In Bavaria alone twelve thouſand Jews were maſſacred, and many thouſands in the other provinces of Germany. But Jews not being every where to be found, theſe pious robbers, who had taſted the ſweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without diſtinction; until the inhabitants of the countries through which they paſſed roſe, and cut them almoſt all off. The Hermit, however,

however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches [8]. A.D. 1096.

Alexis Comnenus, the Greek emperor, who had applied to the Latins for succour against the Turks, entertained a hope, and but a feeble one, of obtaining such an aid as might enable him to repulse the enemy. He was therefore astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious barbarians, strangers alike to order and discipline, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, under different leaders. He contented himself, however, with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport themselves to the other side of the Bosphorus; and general Peter soon saw himself in the plains of Asia, at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the infidels. Soliman, sultan of Nice, fell upon the disorderly crowd, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Walter the Moneyless, and many other leaders of equal distinction, were slain; but Peter the Hermit found his way back to Constantinople, where he was considered as a maniac, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him [9].

In the mean time the more disciplined armies arrived at the imperial city, and were there joined by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, from motives of policy rather than piety. Having no other inheri- A.D. 1097.

8. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. i, 9. Anna Comnena, ubi sup.

tance

PART I. A.D. 1097.

tance but the ſmall principality of Tarentum; and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthuſiaſm of the times to aſſemble under his banner ten thouſand horſemen, well armed, and ſome infantry, with which he hoped to conquer a few provinces either from the Chriſtians or Mahometans. His preſence gave much alarm to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, with whom he had been formerly at war. But the refined policy of that prince, who careſſed thoſe rapacious allies whom he wiſhed to ruin, and ſecretly regarded as more dangerous than the enemies they came to combat, diverted all apprehenſions of harm either from Bohemond or the other leaders of the Cruſade. He furniſhed them with proviſions, and tranſported them ſafely into Aſia; after having conciliated their affections by preſents and promiſes, and engaged them to do him homage for the lands they ſhould conquer from the Turks[10].

ASIA, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little ſtates, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkiſh princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were in reality their maſters; and the ſultans, or ſoldans, who were very numerous, weakened ſtill farther the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the neceſſary conſequence of divided ſway. The ſoldiers of the Croſs therefore, who amounted, when muſtered on the banks of the Boſphorus, to the incredible number of one hundred thouſand horſemen, and ſix hundred thouſand foot, were ſufficient to have conquered all Aſia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that obſerved any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the moſt independent, intractable ſpirit, unacquainted

10. Maimbourg, ubi ſup.

with

with diſcipline, and enemies to civil or military ſubordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irreſiſtible force, ſtill carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in ſpite of every obſtacle; the ſcarcity of proviſions, the exceſſes of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obſtinate ſiege, they took Nice, the ſeat of old Soliman, ſultan of Syria, whoſe army they had twice defeated: they made themſelves maſters of Antioch, the ſeat of another ſultan, and entirely broke the ſtrength of the Turks, who had ſo long tyranniſed over the Arabs[11]. A. D. 1098.

THE caliph of Egypt, whoſe alliance the Chriſtians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkiſh power, the authority of the caliphs in Jeruſalem. On this he ſent ambaſſadors to the leaders of the Cruſade, informing them, that they might now perform their religious vows, if they came diſarmed to that city; and that all Chriſtian pilgrims, who ſhould thenceforth viſit the holy ſepulchre, might expect the ſame good treatment which they had ever received from his predeceſſors. His offer was, however, rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Chriſtians; and, on his refuſal, the champions of the Croſs advanced to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquiſition of which they conſidered as the conſummation of their labours.

THESE pious adventurers were now much diminiſhed, by the detachments they had made, and the diſaſters they had ſuffered: and what ſeems almoſt incredible, they did not exceed, according to the teſtimony of moſt hiſtorians, twenty thouſand foot,

11. Dach. Specileg. vol. iv. Maimbourg, tom. i.

and

PART I. A. D. 1099.

and fifteen hundred horſe, while the garriſon of Jeruſalem conſiſted of forty thouſand men. But, be that as it may, after a ſiege of five weeks, they took the city by aſſault, and put the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction. Arms protected not the brave, nor ſubmiſſion the timid: no age or ſex was ſpared: infants periſhed by the ſame ſword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The ſtreets of Jeruſalem were covered with heaps of ſlain; and the ſhrieks of agony or deſpair ſtill reſounded from every houſe, when theſe triumphant warriors, glutted with ſlaughter, threw aſide their arms, yet ſtreaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet and bended knees to the ſepulchre of the Prince of Peace! ſung anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchaſed their ſalvation by his death; and, while dead to the calamities of their fellow-creatures, diſſolved in tears for the ſufferings of the Meſſiah[12]!—So inconſiſtent is human nature with itſelf; and ſo eaſily, as the philoſophic Hume remarks, does the moſt effeminate ſuperſtition aſſociate both with the moſt heroic courage, and with the fierceſt barbarity.

ABOUT the ſame time that this great event happened in Aſia, where Godfrey of Bouillon was choſen king of Jeruſalem, and Bohemond, and ſome other Chriſtian princes, ſettled in their new conqueſts, Urban II. the author of the Cruſade, and the queen of France, died in Europe. In conſequence of theſe deaths, Philip I. who ſtill continued to live with the counteſs of Anjou, was abſolved, by the new pope, from the ſentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Clermont. But although this abſolution quieted in ſome meaſure his domeſtic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, to-

12. M. Paris. Order. Vital. Vertot, *Hiſt. de Chev. de Malt.* tom. i.

gether

gether with his indolent and licentious courſe of life, had ruined, was far from being reſtored. The nobility more and more affected independency: they inſulted him every hour; plundered his ſubjects, and entirely cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans [13]. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1099.

IN order to remedy theſe evils, Philip aſſociated his ſon Lewis in the government; or, at leaſt, declared him, with the conſent of the nobility, his ſucceſſor. This young prince was, in all reſpects, the reverſe of his father; active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He ſaw that in a ſtate ſo corrupted, nothing could be done but by force: he therefore kept continually in the field, with a ſmall body of troops about him, and theſe he employed againſt ſuch nobles as would not liſten to the dictates of juſtice and equity, but treated the laws of their country with deriſion. He demoliſhed their caſtles; he compelled them to make reſtitution to ſuch as they had pillaged, and he forced them to abandon the lands they had uſurped from the clergy: yet all theſe rigours he executed in a manner ſo diſintereſted, and with ſo indiſputable a zeal for the public welfare, that he gained the affections of the virtuous part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people, while he reſtored order to the ſtate, and preſerved the monarchy from ſubverſion [14]. A.D. 1100. A.D. 1102.

THIS prince, who is commonly called by the old hiſtorians Lewis the Groſs, from his great ſize in the latter part of life, and who was the ſixth Lewis that ſat upon the throne of France, ſucceeded his father in 1108, when he was thirty years of age. Soon after his coronation, he engaged in a war againſt A.D. 1108.

13. Order. Vital. Mezeray. 14. Ord. Vital. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Groſſi.*

Henry

PART I. A. D. 1108. Henry I. of England, a powerful vaſſal whom it was his intereſt to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes during the greater part of this reign, but without producing any remarkable event, except what I have related in the hiſtory of England, or any alteration in the ſtate of either kingdom [15].

A. D. 1128. A PEACE was at length concluded between the two rival princes; after which Lewis devoted himſelf to the regulation of the interior polity of his kingdom, and either humbled or over-awed the great vaſſals of the crown, ſo as to procure univerſal tranquillity. This he accompliſhed partly, by eſtabliſhing the commons or third ſtate; partly, by enfranchiſing the villains or bondmen; and partly by diminiſhing the exorbitant authority of the ſeignioral juriſdictions; ſending commiſſaries into the provinces to receive the complaints and redreſs the wrongs of ſuch as had been oppreſſed by the dukes and counts, and every where encouraging appeals to the royal judges.—But the king of France, in the midſt of his proſperity, fell into a languiſhing diſorder, occaſioned by his exceſſive corpulency; and when he thought his death at hand, he ordered his ſon to be called to him, and gave him the following excellent advice. "By this ſign," ſaid he, (drawing the ſignet from his finger, and putting it on that of the prince) "I inveſt you with ſovereign au-"thority; but remember, that it is nothing but a pub-"lic employment, to which you are called by Heaven, "and for the exerciſe of which you muſt render an "account in the world to come [16]."

15. See Letter XXIII.

16. Sug. *Vit. Lud. Groſſi.* Henault, *Chron. Hiſt.* tom. i.

LETTER XXIV.

A. D. 1137.

THE king unexpectedly recovered; but he would never afterwards uſe any of the enſigns of royalty. An accident contributed to the revival of his ſtrength. William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, reſolving to make a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella, bequeathed his extenſive territories to his daughter Eleanor, on condition that ſhe married young Lewis, already crowned king of France, at the deſire of his father; and the duke dying in that pilgrimage, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bourdeaux, where Lewis VII. was ſolemnly inaugurated as lord of Guienne and Poitou [17].

IN the mean time Lewis VI. unable to ſupport the heat of the dog-days, died at Paris on the firſt of Auguſt, in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. A better man, hiſtorians agree, never graced the throne of France; but with the addition of certain qualities, his countrymen ſay he might have made a better king. Poſterity, however, may not perhaps be inclined to think worſe of his character, when they are told that the qualities he wanted were hypocriſy and diſſimulation, and that his vices were honeſty and ſincerity; which led him to deſpiſe flattery, and indulge himſelf in a manly freedom of ſpeech.

WE ſhould now, my dear Philip, return to the hiſtory of England; but the ſecond cruſade, which was conducted by the ſovereigns of France and Germany, makes it neceſſary to carry farther the affairs of the continent.

17. Id. ibid.

LETTER XXV.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its* DEPENDENCIES, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* HENRY V. *to the Election of* FREDERIC I. *surnamed* BARBAROSSA.

LETTER XXV.

AS Henry V. left no iſſue, it was univerſally believed that the ſtates would confer the empire on one of his nephews, Conrad, duke of Franconia, or Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were princes of great merit; but Albert, archbiſhop of Mentz, found means to influence the German chiefs to give their
A.D. 1125. ſuffrages in favour of Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplembourg, who had ſupported him in all his conteſts with the late emperor. Lothario was accordingly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in preſence of the pope's nuncio. Meanwhile his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to obtain the throne. But after a ſhort oppoſition, which was however obſtinate and bloody, they dropped their pretenſions, and were reconciled to Lothario, who afterwards honoured them with his friendſhip [1].

THE firſt expedition of the new emperor was againſt the Bohemians, whom he obliged to ſue for peace, and do homage to the empire. He next marched into Italy, where eccleſiaſtical affairs, as uſual, were in
A.D. 1130. much diſorder. Innocent II. had ſucceeded Honorius II. by virtue of a canonical election; notwithſtanding which cardinal Leoni, the grandſon of a wealthy Jew, was alſo proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus, and kept poſſeſſion of Rome by means of his money, whilſt his rival was obliged to retire into France, the

1. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Heis, lib. ii. cap. xi.

LETTER XXIV.

common aſylum of diſtreſſed popes. Lothario eſpouſed the cauſe of Innocent, with whom he had an interview at Liege; accompanied him to Rome at the head of an army, and re-eſtabliſhed him in the papal chair, in ſpite of all the efforts and oppoſition of Anacletus [2]. A.D. 1132.

AFTER being ſolemnly crowned at Rome, the emperor returned to Germany; where, by the advice of Ernerius, a learned profeſſor of the Roman law, he ordered that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in the empire according to the Digeſta, or Code of Juſtinian, a copy of which was, about this time, found in Italy [3]. In the mean time Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately conquered the iſland of Sicily, raiſed an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the places belonging to the Holy See. Pope Innocent retired to Piſa, which was then one of the moſt conſiderable trading cities in Europe, and again implored the aſſiſtance of Lothario. The emperor did not deſert him in his adverſity: he immediately put himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and, by the help of the Piſans, the imperial forces ſoon recovered all the Patrimony of St. Peter. Pope Innocent was re-conducted in triumph to Rome; a circumſtance which ſo much affected Anacletus, that he fell a martyr to the ſucceſs of his competitor, literally dying of grief. A.D. 1137.

THE emperor afterwards drove Roger, duke of Apulia from city to city; and, at length, obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, his new kingdom. He then ſubdued the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian dominions, which he formed into a

2. Jean de Launes, *Hiſt. du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.*

3. On this ſubject, which is involved in controverſy, ſee Hen. Brenchmann, *Hiſt. Pandect.* Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1138. principality, and beſtowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations [4].

On his way to Germany, Lothario was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, which carried him off near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was diſtinguiſhed by a paſſionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

A. D. 1139. Conrad, duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V. was unanimouſly elected emperor, on the death of Lothario. But the imperial throne was diſputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whoſe family was Guelph; hence thoſe who eſpouſed his party were called Guelphs, an appellation afterwards uſually beſtowed on the enemies of the emperors.

A. D. 1140. Henry the Haughty died during this conteſt, after being diveſted of his dominions by the princes of the empire; but the war was ſtill carried on againſt the emperor by Guelph, the duke's brother, and Roger king of Sicily. The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave to his ſoldiers the name of Ghibelins; an epithet by which the imperial party was diſtinguiſhed in Italy, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs [5].

Guelph, and his principal followers, were beſieged in the caſtle of Weinſberg; and having ſuſtained great loſs in a ſally, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The emperor, however, inſtead of uſing his

4. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

5. Murat. *Diſſertat. de Guelph. et Gibel.* Sigon. lib. xi. Krant. *Sax.* lib. viii.

good

good fortune with rigour, granted the duke, and his chief officers, permiſſion to retire unmoleſted. But the ducheſs, ſuſpecting the generoſity of Conrad, with whoſe enmity againſt her huſband ſhe was well acquainted, begged that ſhe, and the other women in the caſtle, might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, and be conducted to a place of ſafety. Her requeſt was granted, and the evacuation was immediately performed; when the emperor and his army, who expected to ſee every lady loaded with jewels, gold, and ſilver, beheld, to their aſtoniſhment, the ducheſs and her fair companions ſtaggering beneath the weight of their huſbands. The tears ran down Conrad's cheeks: he applauded their conjugal tenderneſs, and an accommodation with Guelph and his adherents was the conſequence of this act of female heroiſm [6]. A. D. 1140. A. D. 1141.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, new diſorders broke out in Italy. The people of Rome formed a deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the commonwealth; of retrieving the ſovereignty of their city, and aboliſhing the temporal dominion of the popes. Lucius II. marched againſt the rebels, and was killed at the foot of the Capitol; but Eugenius III. his ſucceſſor, found means to reduce them to reaſon, and preſerve the authority of the Apoſtolic See [7]. A. D. 1145.

THIS pope afterwards countenanced the ſecond cruſade againſt the Saracens, preached by St. Bernard, in which the emperor and the king of France, engaged, as I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. Another cruſade was preached againſt the Moors in Spain, in which a great number of Germans, from the neigh- A. D. 1147.

6. Heiſ. lib. ii. cap. xii.

7. Fleury, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. xiv. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii.

PART I. bourhood of the Rhine and Weſer, engaged; and the Saxons, about the ſame time, undertook a cruſade a-
A.D. 1145. gainſt the Pagans of the North, whom they cut off in thouſands, without making one convert [8].

NOTHING remarkable happened in the empire, after the return of Conrad III. from the Eaſt, except the death of prince Henry, his eldeſt ſon, who had been elected king of the Romans. This event
A.D. 1152. greatly affected the emperor, who died ſoon after; and his nephew Frederic, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, duke of Suabia, was raiſed to the imperial throne by the unanimous voice of the princes and nobles both of Italy and Germany.

LETTER XXVI.

FRANCE *under* LEWIS VII. *till the Divorce of Queen* ELEANOR, *with ſome Account of the ſecond* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXVI.

LEWIS VII. ſurnamed the Young, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne of France, than he found himſelf engaged in one of thoſe civil wars, which the
A. D. 1137. feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having in an expedition into Champagne, made himſelf maſter of the town of Vitri, he ordered it to be ſet on fire. In conſequence of the conflagration that followed, thirteen hundred perſons, who had taken
A.D. 1143. refuge in the church, all periſhed in the flames [1]. This cruel action made a deep impreſſion upon the king's mind, and prepared the way for a ſecond cruſade, which now demands our attention.

8. Id. ibid.

1. Gul. Tyr. *Geſt. Ludovic. VII.*

THE

LETTER XXVI.

THE Chriſtians of the Eaſt grew weaker every day, in thoſe countries which they had conquered. The little kingdom of Edeſſa had already been taken by the Turks, and Jeruſalem itſelf was threatened. Europe was ſolicited for a new armament; and as the French had begun the firſt inundation, they were again applied to, in hopes of a ſecond.

POPE Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from the Eaſt had been ſent, very wiſely pitched upon Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the inſtrument of this pious warfare. Bernard was learned, for thoſe times, naturally eloquent, auſtere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, enthuſiaſtically zealous, and inflexible in his purpoſe. He had long held the reputation of a ſaint, was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet; little wonder, therefore, he found means to perſuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt but by an expedition to the Holy Land. A.D. 1145

AT Vezelai in Burgundy, a ſcaffold was erected in the market-place, on which St. Bernard appeared by the ſide of Lewis VII. The ſaint ſpoke firſt, the king ſeconded him, after taking the croſs from his hands. Queen Eleanor alſo took the croſs, and the example of the royal pair was followed by all preſent, among whom were many of the chief nobility [z]. A.D. 1146

SUGER, abbot of St. Dennis, then prime miniſter, a man very different from Bernard, endeavoured in vain to diſſuade the king from abandoning his dominions, by telling him that he might make a much more ſuitable atonement for his guilt by ſtaying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wiſe and pru-

z. *Epiſt. Ludovic. ad Suger.*

PART I. dent manner. The eloquence of St. Bernard, and the madneſs of the times, prevailed over reaſon and ſound policy. Suger, however, retained his opinion; and made no ſcruple of foretelling the inconveniences that would attend an expedition into Paleſtine, whilſt Bernard made himſelf anſwerable for its ſucceſs, and extolled it with an enthuſiaſm that paſſed for inſpiration.

A.D. 1146.

FROM France this fanatical orator went to preach the cruſade in Germany; where, by the force of his irreſiſtible eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad III. Frederic Barbaroſſa, afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of perſons of all ranks, to take the croſs; promiſing them, in the name of God, victory over the Infidels. He ran from city to city, every where communicating his enthuſiaſm; and, if we believe the hiſtorians of thoſe times, working miracles. It is not indeed pretended that he reſtored the dead to life; but the blind received ſight, the lame walked, the ſick were healed. And to theſe bold aſſertions, we may add a fact no leſs incredible, That, while St. Bernard's eloquence operated ſo powerfully on the minds of the Germans, he always preached to them in French, a language which they did not underſtand! or in Latin, equally unintelligible to the body of the people [3].

THE hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greater part of the knights in their dominions: and it is ſaid, that in each army there were reckoned ſeventy thouſand men in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horſe, beſides infantry; ſo that we cannot well

3. Henault, *Chron. Hiſt.* tom. i. *Anal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

reduce

reduce this ſecond emigration to leſs than three hundred thouſand perſons. And theſe joined to one million three hundred thouſand ſent before, make in the whole ſixteen hundred thouſand tranſplanted inhabitants. LETTER XXVI. A.D. 1149

THE Germans took the field firſt, the French followed them: and the ſame exceſſes, that had been committed by the ſoldiers of the firſt cruſade, were acted over again by thoſe of the ſecond. Hence Manuel Comnenus, who now filled the throne of Conſtantinople, was diſquieted with the ſame apprehenſions which the former enterprize had raiſed in the mind of his grandfather Alexis. If the Greek emperor behaved ungenerouſly to them, it muſt therefore be aſcribed to the irregularity of their own conduct, which made craft neceſſary, where force was unequal; eſpecially as Manuel is repreſented, on all other occaſions, as a prince of great generoſity and magnanimity. But the mortality which prevailed in the German army, near the plains of Conſtantinople, may be fully accounted for from intemperance and the change of climate, without ſuppoſing either the wells to be poiſoned or the meal to be mingled with lime. A.D. 1147

AFTER Conrad had paſſed the Boſphorus, he acted with that imprudence which ſeems inſeparable from ſuch romantic expeditions. As the principality of Antioch was yet in being, he might have joined thoſe Chriſtians who remained in Syria, and there have waited for the king of France. Their numbers united would have inſured them ſucceſs. But inſtead of ſuch a rational meaſure, the emperor, jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marched immediately into the middle of Aſia Minor; where the ſultan of Iconium, a more experienced

PART I. enced general, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks, and cut his army in pieces. Conrad fled to Antioch; went to Jeruſalem as a pilgrim, inſtead A. D. 1148. of appearing there as the leader of an army, and returned to Europe with a handful of men [4].

THE king of France was not more ſucceſsful in his enterprize. He fell into the ſame ſnare that had deceived the emperor; and being ſurpriſed among the rocks near Laodicea, was worſted, as Conrad had been. But Lewis met with a domeſtic misfortune that gave him more uneaſineſs than the loſs of his army. Queen Eleanor was ſuſpected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whoſe court her huſband had taken refuge. She is even ſaid to have forgot her fatigues in the arms of a young Turk: and the concluſion of the whole expedition was, that Lewis, like Conrad, returned to Europe with the wreck of a great army, after viſiting the holy ſepulchre, and being diſhonoured by his pious conſort, whoſe affection and zeal led her to embrace the croſs, and accompany him A. D. 1149. into Aſia [5]! A thouſand ruined families in vain exclaimed againſt St. Bernard for his deluding propheſies: he excuſed himſelf by the example of Moſes; who, like him, he ſaid, had promiſed the Iſraelites to conduct them into a happy country, and yet ſaw the firſt generation periſh in the deſert.

LEWIS, more delicate than politic, annulled ſoon after his return his marriage with queen Eleanor, who immediately eſpouſed his formidable vaſſal, Henry Plantagenet duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and preſumptive heir to the crown of England; an inheritance which the acceſſion of power

4. Otho de Friſing. Gul. Tyr. *Chron. Muriniac.*
5. Gul. Tyr. *Geſt. Ludovic. VII.* Henault, *Chron. Hiſt.* tom. i.

ariſing

ariſing from this alliance enabled him to obtain, while France loſt the fine provinces of Guienne and Poitou, the hereditary poſſeſſions of the queen. But before I treat of that ſubject, we muſt take a view of England during the introductory reign. LETTER XXVI. A.D. 1140

LETTER XXVII.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* HENRY I. *to the Acceſſion of* HENRY II.

HENRY I. my dear Philip, as you have had occaſion to ſee, left his dominions by will to his daughter Matilda; and as the nobility, both of England and Normandy, had ſworn fealty to her, ſhe had reaſon to expect the inheritance of both ſtates. But the averſion of the feudal barons againſt female ſucceſſion, prevailed over their good faith, and prepared the way for the uſurpation of Stephen, count of Boulogne, ſon of the count of Blois, and grandſon of the Conqueror, by his daughter Adela. LETTER XXVII. A.D. 1135

STEPHEN was a prince of vigour and ability: but the manner in which he had obtained the crown of England, obliged him to grant exorbitant privileges to the nobility and clergy, who might be ſaid to command the kingdom. The barons built and fortified caſtles; garriſoned them with their own troops; and, when offended, bid their monarch defiance, while wars between themſelves were carried on with the utmoſt fury in every quarter. They even aſſumed the right of coining money, and of exerciſing, without appeal, every act of juriſdiction; and the inferior gentry, and the people, finding no guardianſhip from the laws, during this total diſſolution of ſovereign authority, A.D. 1135

PART I. thority, were obliged to pay court to ſome neighbouring chieftain, and to purchaſe his protection, not only by yielding to his exactions, but by aſſiſting him in his rapine upon others [1].

D. 1136.

WHILE things continued in this diſtracted ſituation, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of a conſiderable army, in defence of his niece Matilda's title; and penetrating into Yorkſhire, laid the whole country waſte. Theſe barbarous outrages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwiſe have been inclined to join him, and proved the ruin of Matilda's cauſe. The earl of Albemarle, and other powerful nobles, aſſembled an army at North-Allerton, where
D. 1138. a great battle was fought, called the *Battle of the Standard*, from a high crucifix erected by the Engliſh on a waggon, and carried along with the army, as a military enſign. The Scots were routed with great ſlaughter, and their king narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the Engliſh army [2].

THIS ſucceſs over-awed the malcontents in England, and might have given ſtability to Stephen's throne, had he not been ſo elated by proſperity as to engage in a conteſt with the clergy, who were at that time an over-match for any monarch. They acted entirely as barons; fortified caſtles, employed military power againſt their ſovereign or their neighbours, and thereby increaſed thoſe diſorders which it was their duty to prevent, while they claimed an exemption from all civil juriſdiction, and attracted popularity by the ſacredneſs of their character. The biſhop of
D. 1139. Saliſbury, whoſe caſtles had been ſeized by order of the king, appealed to the pope; and had not Stephen

1. Gul. Malmeſ. *Hiſt. Novel.* lib. i. de *Bell. Standard.*

2. R. Hagulſt. Ailred.

and his partizans employed menaces, and even ſhewn a diſpoſition of executing vengeance by the hands of the ſoldiery, affairs had inſtantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre. LETTER XXVII. A.D. 113

In the mean time Matilda, encouraged by theſe diſcontents, and invited by the rebellious clergy, landed in England, accompanied by Robert earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon of the late king, and a retinue of an hundred and forty knights. She fixed her reſidence at Arundel caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Suſſex. Her party daily increaſed: ſhe was ſoon joined by ſeveral barons: war raged in every quarter of the kingdom; and was carried on with ſo much fury, that the land was left untilled, and the inſtruments of huſbandry deſtroyed or abandoned. A grievous famine, the natural conſequence of ſuch diſorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the ſpoilers, as well as the defenceleſs people, to the moſt extreme want[3]. Sept. 30. A.D. 1140

Things were in this deplorable ſituation, when an unexpected event ſeemed to promiſe ſome mitigation of the public calamities. The royal army was defeated near the caſtle of Lincoln; and Stephen himſelf, ſurrounded by the enemy, and borne down by numbers, was made captive, after diſplaying uncommon efforts of valour. He was conducted to Glouceſter, thrown into priſon, and ignominiouſly loaded with irons. But he was ſoon after releaſed in exchange for earl Robert, Matilda's brother, who was no leſs the ſoul of one party than Stephen was of the A.D. 1141.

3. *Chron. Sax. Geſt. Reg. Stephani.* Hen. Hunting. lib. viii.

other,

PART I. other, and the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever [4].

A.D. 1141.

THE weakneſs of both parties, however, at laſt produced a tacit ceſſation of arms, and the empreſs Matilda retired into Normandy. But an event ſoon after happened, which threatened a revival of hoſtilities in England. Prince Henry, ſon of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, had reached his ſixteenth year, and was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his grand-uncle, David king of Scotland. For this purpoſe he paſſed through England with a great retinue, and was viſited by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans, whoſe hopes he rouſed by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes, and his prudence in every occurrence. He ſtaid ſome time in Scotland, where he increaſed in reputation; and on his return to Normandy, he was inveſted in that duchy with the conſent of his mother Matilda. His father died the following year, when Henry took poſſeſſion of Anjou and Maine, and eſpouſed the heireſs of Guienne and Poitou, who had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, but whom he had divorced, as I have already obſerved, on account of her gallantries. This marriage, which brought Henry a great acceſſion of power, rendered him extremely formidable to his rival; and the proſpect of his riſing fortune had ſuch an effect in England, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to anoint Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, as his ſucceſſor, and made his eſcape beyond ſea, to avoid the fury of the enraged monarch [5].

A.D. 1148.

A.D. 1150.

A.D. 1151.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of theſe diſpoſitions in the people, he invaded England. Stephen

A.D. 1153

4. Gul. Malmeſ. *Hiſt. Nov.* lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.
5. Id. ibid.

advanced

advanced with a ſuperior army to meet him; and a decisive action was every day expected, when the great men on both ſides, terrified with the proſpect of farther bloodſhed and confuſion, interpoſed with their good offices, and ſet on foot a negociation between the contending princes. The death of Euſtace, which happened during the courſe of the treaty, facilitated its concluſion; and an accommodation was at laſt ſettled, by which it was agreed, that Stephen ſhould poſſeſs the crown during his life-time; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in his name, even in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his rival; and that Henry, on Stephen's death, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of England, and William, Stephen's ſon, to Boulogne and his patrimonial eſtate [6]. A. D. 1153.

THE barons all ſwore to the obſervance of this treaty, and did homage to Henry as heir of the crown. He immediately after evacuated the kingdom; and Stephen's death, which happened next year, prevented thoſe jealouſies and feuds, which were likely to have enſued in ſo delicate a ſituation. The character of Stephen is differently repreſented by hiſtorians; but all allow, that he poſſeſſed induſtry, activity, and courage, to a great degree: and had he ſucceeded by a juſt title, he ſeems to have been well qualified to promote the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects, notwithſtanding the miſeries that England ſuffered under his reign [7]. A. D. 1154.

6 Hen. Hunt. ubi ſup. *Annal.* Waverl. M. Paris. J. Brompton.

7. Theſe miſeries are thus deſcribed by a cotemporary hiſtorian. "All England wore a face of deſolation and wretchedneſs. Multitudes "abandoned their beloved country and went into voluntary exile; "others, forſaking their own houſes, built ſorry huts in the church-"yards, hoping for protection from the ſacredneſs of the place. "Whole families, after ſuſtaining life as long as they could, by eating "herbs, roots, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes, at laſt died of hun-"ger:—and you might ſee many pleaſant villages without a ſingle in-"habitant of either ſex." *Geſt. Reg. Steph.*

LET-

LETTER XXVIII.

ENGLAND, *during the Reign of* HENRY II. *with an Account of the Affairs of* FRANCE.

LETTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1154.

I HAVE already obſerved, my dear Philip, that before the conqueſt of England by the duke of Normandy, this iſland was as diſtinct from the reſt of the world in politics as ſituation. The Engliſh had then neither enemies nor allies on the continent. But the foreign dominions of William and his ſucceſſors connected them with the kings and great vaſſals of France: and while the oppoſite pretenſions of the popes and the emperors in Italy produced a continual intercourſe between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a ſeparate ſyſtem, and carried on their wars and negociations, without meeting either with oppoſition or ſupport from their neighbours; the extenſive confederacies by which the European potentates are now united, and made the guardians of each other, being then totally unknown. No wonder, therefore, that Lewis VII. king of France, obſerved with terror the riſing greatneſs of the houſe of Anjou or Plantagenet, whoſe continental dominions compoſed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and which gave a ſovereign to England in the perſon of Henry II. The jealouſy occaſioned by this alarming circumſtance, however, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, not only ſaved France from falling a prey to England, but exalted that kingdom to the pitch of grandeur which it has ſo long enjoyed. The king of England ſoon became a kind of foreigner in his continental dominions; and the other powerful vaſſals of the French crown, inſtead of being rouſed at the oppreſſion of a co-vaſſal, were rather pleaſed at the expulſion of the Anglo-Normans.

BUT

LETTER XXVIII.

BUT as theſe important conſequences could not be foreſeen by human wiſdom, the king of France had maintained a ſtrict union with Stephen, in order to prevent the ſucceſſion of Henry. The ſudden death of the uſurper, however, rendered abortive all the ſchemes of Lewis. Henry was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who joyfully ſwore to him the oath of allegiance: and he began his reign with re-eſtabliſhing juſtice and good order, to which the kingdom had been long a ſtranger. For this purpoſe he diſmiſſed all thoſe foreign mercenaries retained by Stephen; and that he might reſtore authority to the laws, he cauſed all the new erected caſtles, which had proved ſo many ſanctuaries to rebels and free-booters, to be demoliſhed[1]. In order yet farther to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, he voluntarily confirmed that charter of liberties, which had been granted by his grandfather, Henry I[2]. A.D. 1154.

TRANQUILLITY was no ſooner reſtored to England, than Henry had occaſion to viſit his foreign dominions; where all things being likewiſe ſettled, he returned to repreſs the incurſions of the Welch, who at firſt gave him much trouble, but at length ſubmitted. In the mean time a quarrel broke out between Lewis and Henry, relative to the county of Thouloufe, and war was openly carried on between the two monarchs. But theſe hoſtilities produced no memorable event, were ſtopt by a ceſſation of arms, and ſoon terminated in a peace, through the mediation of the pope. A.D. 1156. A.D. 1157. A.D. 1161.

THIS war, ſo inſignificant in itſelf, is remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted. An army

1. Gervaſ. *Chron.* Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. 2. Vid. Blackſtone's *Law Tracts*, vol. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1161.

formed of feudal vaſſals, as I have had occaſion frequently to obſerve, was commonly very intractable and undiſciplined; both becauſe of the independent ſpirit of the perſons who compoſed it, and becauſe the commiſſions were not beſtowed by the choice of the ſovereign, in reward of the military talents and ſervices of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vaſſals, and his rank in the army was greater or leſs, in proportion to the value of his property. Even the chief command, under that of the prince, was often attached to birth; and as the military vaſſals were obliged to ſerve only forty days, at their own charge, the ſtate reaped very little benefit from their attendance. Henry, ſenſible of theſe inconveniences, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from Thoulouſe, the ſeat of war, a ſum of money in place of their ſervice: and this commutation, by reaſon of the greater diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous to his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore impoſed a *ſcutage* of three pounds upon each knight's fee; a condition, though unuſual, and the firſt perhaps to be met with in hiſtory, to which the military tenants readily ſubmitted. With this money he levied an army, which was more at his diſpoſal, and whoſe ſervice was more durable and conſtant: and, in order to facilitate thoſe levies, he enlarged the privileges of the people, and rendered them leſs dependent on the barons, by whom they had been long held in ſervitude, or in a ſtate of the moſt grievous oppreſſion.

A. D. 1162.

HAVING thus regulated his civil and military affairs, and accommodated his differences with Lewis, Henry, ſoon after his return to England, began to caſt his eye upon the church, where abuſes of every kind prevailed. The clergy, among their other inventions

to

LETTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1162.

to obtain money, had inculcated the neceſſity of penance as an atonement for ſin. They had alſo introduced the practice of paying large ſums of money, as a compoſition for ſuch penances. By theſe means the ſins of the people were become a revenue to the prieſts; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money from his ſubjects than flowed into the royal treaſury by all the methods of public ſupply [3]. Feeling for his oppreſſed people, he therefore required that a civil officer, appointed by the crown, ſhould for the future be preſent in all eccleſiaſtical courts, and whoſe conſent ſhould be neceſſary to every compoſition made by ſinners for their ſpiritual offences.

But the grand difficulty was, How to carry this order into execution? as the eccleſiaſtics, in that age, had renounced all immediate ſubordination to the civil power. They openly claimed exemption, in caſes of criminal accuſation, from a trial before courts of juſtice. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; and as the clerical habit was thus become a protection for all enormities, they could not fail to increaſe. Accordingly crimes of the deepeſt dye were daily committed with impunity by eccleſiaſtics: and it was found upon inquiry, that no leſs than an hundred murders had been perpetrated ſince the king's acceſſion, by men in holy orders, who had never been called to account for theſe offences againſt the laws of nature and ſociety [4].

In order to bring ſuch criminals to juſtice, as the firſt ſtep towards his projected reformation of the church, and by that means to reſtore union between the civil and eccleſiaſtical power, ſo neceſſary in every

3. Fitz-Steph. *Vit. St. Thom.* 4. Gul. Neubr. lib. ii.

PART I. A.D. 1162.

government for the maintenance of peace and harmony! Henry exalted Thomas à Becket, his chancellor, and the firſt man of Engliſh deſcent who had occupied an eminent ſtation ſince the Norman conqueſt, to the ſee of Canterbury, on the death of archbiſhop Theobald; rightly judging, that if the preſent opportunity ſhould be neglected, and the uſurpations of the clergy allowed to proceed, the crown muſt be in danger, from the predominating ſuperſtition of the people, of falling under ſubjection to the mitre.

Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, ſumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what England had ſeen in a ſubject. His houſe was a place of education for the ſons of the chief nobility, and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to partake of his chancellor's entertainments. His amuſements were as gay as his manner of life was ſplendid and elegant. He employed himſelf at leiſure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip. His complaiſance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his induſtry and abilities uſeful to his maſter. He was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds all eccleſiaſtical privileges, and having always ſhewed a ready diſpoſition to comply with every advance to that purpoſe, Henry conſidered him as the fitteſt perſon he could place at the head of the Engliſh church. But no prince of ſo much penetration, as appeared in the iſſue, ever ſo little underſtood the character of his miniſter.

Becket was no ſooner inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury, which rendered him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, than he ſecretly aſpired at being the firſt, in conſequence

conſequence at leaſt, and totally altered his manner of life. He affected the greateſt auſterity, and the moſt rigid mortification: he wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, which he changed ſo ſeldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His uſual diet was bread, his drink water: he tore his back with the frequent diſcipline which he inflicted upon it; and he daily waſhed on his knees, in imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents[5]. Every one who made profeſſion of ſanctity was admitted to his converſation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as piety and mortification of the holy primate; whoſe aſpect now wore the appearance of intenſe ſeriouſneſs, mental reflection, and ſacred devotion. And all men of penetration ſaw, that he was meditating ſome great deſign, and that the ambition and oſtentation of his character had taken a new and more dangerous direction.

THIS champion of the church (for ſuch he now declared himſelf) did not even wait till the king had matured thoſe projects, which he knew had been formed againſt eccleſiaſtical power: he himſelf began hoſtilities, and endeavoured to over-awe the king by the intrepidity and boldneſs of his meaſures. But although Henry found himſelf thus grievouſly miſtaken in the character of the perſon whom he had promoted to the primacy, he determined not to deſiſt from his former intention of retrenching clerical uſurpations:—and an event ſoon occurred which gave him a plauſible pretence for putting his deſign in execution, and brought matters to a criſis with the archbiſhop.

5. Fitz-Steph. ubi ſup.

PART I.

A PARISH clerk in Worceſterſhire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had about this time proceeded to murder the father. The general indignation againſt ſo enormous a crime made the king inſiſt, that the clerk ſhould be delivered up to the civil magiſtrate, and receive condign puniſhment; but Becket inſiſted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater puniſhment could be inflicted upon him than degradation [6]. Henry laid hold of ſo favourable a cauſe to puſh the clergy with reſpect to all their uſurpations, and to determine at once thoſe controverſies, which daily multiplied, between the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. He ſummoned an aſſembly of all the prelates of England, and put them to this conciſe and deciſive queſtion; Whether or not they were willing to ſubmit to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom? The biſhops anſwered equivocally, and the king left the aſſembly with marks of the higheſt indignation. They were ſtruck with terror, and gave a general promiſe of obſerving the ancient cuſtoms [7].

A.D. 1163.

BUT a declaration in general terms was not ſufficient for Henry: he wanted to define exactly the limits between the rival powers. For this purpoſe he ſummoned at Clarendon a general council of the biſhops and nobles, to whom he ſubmitted that great and important queſtion. The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reaſons he urged or by his ſuperior authority, while the biſhops were over-awed by the general combination againſt them. And the following laws, among others, commonly called the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, were voted without oppoſition: "That no chief tenant of the

A.D. 1164.

6. Ibid.

7. R. Hoveden. *Hiſt. Quadr.*

"crown

"crown ſhall be excommunicated, or have his "lands put under an interdict, without the king's "conſent; that no appeals in ſpiritual cauſes ſhall "be carried before the Holy See, nor any clergyman "be ſuffered to depart the kingdom, unleſs with the "king's permiſſion; that laymen ſhall not be ac- "cuſed in ſpiritual courts, except by legal and re- "putable promoters and witneſſes; and laſtly, which "was the great object aimed at, that churchmen, ac- "cuſed of any crime, ſhall be tried in the civil "courts[8]." A. D. 1164.

THESE articles were well calculated to prevent the principal abuſes in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and put a final ſtop to the uſurpations of the church; and having been paſſed in a national and civil aſſembly, they fully eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of the legiſlature over all papal decrees and ſpiritual canons. But as Henry knew the biſhops would take the firſt opportunity to deny the authority which had enacted theſe conſtitutions, he reſolved they ſhould ſet their ſeal to them, and give a promiſe to obſerve them. With this view they were reduced to writing; and none of the prelates dared to oppoſe the king's will except Becket, who at length conſented. He ſet his ſeal to the conſtitutions; promiſed *legally*, with *good-faith*, and without *fraud* or *reſerve* to obſerve them, and even took an oath to that purpoſe[9].

HENRY, thinking he had now finally prevailed in this great conteſt, ſent the conſtitutions of Clarendon to Alexander III. to be ratified. But the pope, who plainly ſaw they were calculated to eſtabliſh the independency of England from the Holy See, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them; and when Becket

8. M. Paris. *Hiſt. Quad.*

9. Fitz-Steph. Gervas.

PART I. A.D. 1164.

found he might hope for the papal ſupport in an oppoſition to regal authority, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for his conceſſions. He redoubled his auſterities, as a puniſhment for his criminal compliance: and he refuſed to exerciſe any part of his eccleſiaſtical function, until he ſhould receive abſolution from the pope. Abſolution was readily granted him; after receiving which he ſet no bounds to his obſtinacy and ambition.

HENRY however, who was entirely maſter of his extenſive dominions, and ſure every one would obey his will except the man whom he had lifted into power, and to whoſe aſſiſtance he had truſted in forwarding his favourite project againſt the clergy, was now incenſed beyond all meaſure, and reſolved both to humble the church and make the prelate feel the weight of his indignation. He accordingly ſummoned Becket to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies, which had been ſubject to his management, during that time.

THIS proſecution, which ſeems to have been more dictated by paſſion than by juſtice, or even by ſound policy, threw Becket, and all the clergy of England, into the utmoſt confuſion. Some biſhops adviſed him to reſign his ſee, on receiving an acquittal; others were of opinion, that he ought to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king's mercy: for they were fully ſenſible, that accounts of ſo much intricacy could not be produced of a ſudden, in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy a tribunal reſolved to ruin and oppreſs him. But the primate, thus puſhed to extremity, had too much courage to yield: he determined to brave all his enemies; to truſt to the ſacredneſs of his character for protection; and to defy the utmoſt efforts of royal indignation,

indignation, by involving his cauſe with that of God and the church. He therefore ſtrictly prohibited his ſuffragans to aſſiſt at any ſuch trial, or give their ſanction to any ſentence againſt him: he put himſelf and his ſee under the immediate protection of the vicegerent of Chriſt, and appealed to his Holineſs againſt any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. "The indignation of a "great monarch," added he, "ſuch as Henry, with "his ſword, can only kill the body; while that of "the church, intruſted to the primate, can kill the "ſoul, and throw the diſobedient into infinite and "eternal perdition &c." A. D. 1164

APPEALS to Rome, even in ſpiritual cauſes, had been prohibited by the Conſtitutions of Clarendon, and conſequently were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cauſe, ſuch as the king's demand upon Becket, was altogether new and unprecedented, and tended directly to the ſubverſion of the Engliſh government. Henry, therefore, being now furniſhed with ſo much better a pretence for his violence, would probably have puſhed this affair to the utmoſt againſt the primate, had he not retired beyond ſea, and found patrons and protectors in the pope and the king of France.

THE violent proſecution carried on againſt Becket at home, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his ſide, and to make men forget his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of thoſe eccleſiaſtical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion: and political conſiderations conſpired with ſympathy to procure him coun-

10. M. Paris. R. Hoveden. *Epiſt. St. Thom. Vit. St. Thom.*

tenance

PART I. A. D. 1164.

tenance and ſupport abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the riſing greatneſs of Henry, were glad of an opportunity to give him diſturbance in his government. They pretended to pity extremely the condition of the perſecuted archbiſhop; and the pope, whoſe intereſts were more immediately concerned in abetting his cauſe, honoured Becket with the higheſt marks of diſtinction. A reſidence was aſſigned him in the abbey of Pontigny, where he lived, for ſome years, in great magnificence, partly by a penſion out of the revenues of the abbey, and partly by the generoſity of the French monarch [11].

In the mean time the exiled primate filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the violence he had ſuffered. He compared himſelf to Chriſt, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the preſent oppreſſions under which his Church laboured [12]. But complaint was a language little ſuited to the vehemence of Becket's temper, and in which he did not long acquieſce. Having reſigned his ſee into the hands of the pope, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, and received it again from the Head of the Church, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, he iſſued out a cenſure of excommunication againſt the king's chief miniſters by name, comprehending in general all thoſe who had favoured or obeyed the Conſtitutions of Clarendon: he abrogated and annulled thoſe Conſtitutions, abſolving all perſons from the oaths which they had taken to obſerve them; and he ſuſpended the ſpiritual thunder over Henry, only that he might avoid the blow by a timely repentance [13].

11. *Epiſt. St. Thom.* 12. Ibid. 13. M. Paris. R. Hoveden. Fitz-Steph. *Vit. St. Thom.*

HENRY,

LETTER XXVIII.

HENRY, on the other hand, employed the temporal weapons ſtill in his power. He ſuſpended the payment of St. Peter's Pence, and made ſome advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was then engaged in violent wars with pope Alexander III. Both parties grew ſick of contention, and each was afraid of the other. Although the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, he was ſenſible that his throne might be ſhaken by a ſentence of excommunication; but as the trials hitherto made of the ſpiritual weapons by Becket had not ſucceeded to his expectation, and every thing remained quiet both in England and Normandy, nothing ſeemed impoſſible, on the other hand, to the vigilance and capacity of ſo great a prince. A. D. 1165. A. D. 1166.

THESE conſiderations produced frequent attempts at an accommodation, which was long obſtructed by mutual jealouſy. After all differences ſeemed adjuſted, the king offered to ſign the treaty, with a ſalvo to his *royal dignity*; a reſervation which gave ſo much umbrage to the primate, that the negociation became fruitleſs. And in a ſecond negociation, Becket, imitating Henry's example, offered to make his ſubmiſſions with a ſalvo of the *honour of God* and the *liberties of the Church*; a propoſal which, for a like reaſon, was offenſive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference was broken off by the ſame means. And even in a fourth, when all things were ſettled, and the primate expected to be introduced to the king, Henry refuſed to grant him the kiſs of peace, under pretence that he had made a raſh vow to the contrary. The want of this formality, inſignificant as it may ſeem, prevented the concluſion of the treaty, it being regarded in thoſe times as the only ſure mark of forgiveneſs. A. D. 1168. A. D. 1169.

IN

PART I.

A.D. 1169. In one of theſe conferences, at which the French king was preſent, Henry ſaid to that monarch, "There have been many kings of England, ſome of "greater, ſome of leſs authority than myſelf: there "have alſo been many archbiſhops of Canterbury, "holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of "reſpect: let Becket only act towards me with the "ſame ſubmiſſion, which the greateſt of his prede-"ceſſors has paid to the leaſt of mine, and there ſhall "be no controverſy between us [14]."

Lewis was ſo much ſtruck with this ſtate of the caſe, and with an offer which Henry made to ſubmit his cauſe to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning Becket, and withdrawing his friendſhip for a time. But their common animoſity againſt Henry ſoon produced a renewal of their former intimacy, and the primate revived his threats and excommunications. All difficulties between the parties, however, were at laſt got over, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and
A.D. 1170. advantageous: a certain proof how much Henry dreaded the interdict that was ready to be laid upon his dominions, if he had continued in diſobedience to the church, and how terrible the thunder of the church muſt then have been, ſince it could humble a prince of ſo haughty a ſpirit!

This accommodation with Becket, though ſettled on terms by no means favourable to the crown, did not even procure Henry that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from it. Inſtead of being taught moderation by a ſix years exile, the primate was only animated with a ſpirit of revenge. Elated by the victory which he had obtained over his ſo-

14. *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. ii.

vereign,

vereign, he ſet no bounds to his arrogance. On his arrival in England, where he went from town to town in a ſort of triumphal cavalcade, he notified to the archbiſhop of York the ſentence of ſuſpenſion; and to the biſhops of London and Saliſbury that of excommunication, which, at his ſolicitation, the pope had pronounced againſt them, becauſe they had aſſiſted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom the king had aſſociated in the royalty, during the abſence of the primate, and when an interdict was ready to be laid upon his dominions; a precaution thought neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſſion of that prince. By this violent meaſure, therefore, Becket in effect declared war againſt the king himſelf; yet, in ſo doing, he appears to have been guided by policy as well as paſſion. Apprehenſive leſt a prince of ſuch profound ſagacity ſhould in the end prevail, he reſolved to take all the advantage which his preſent victory gave him, and to diſconcert the cautious meaſures of the king, by the vehemence and vigour of his own conduct. Aſſured of ſupport from Rome, he was little apprehenſive of dangers, which his courage taught him to deſpiſe; and which, though followed by the moſt fatal conſequences, would ſtill gratify his thirſt of glory, and reward his ambition with the crown of martyrdom.

LETTER XXVIII.

A. D. 1170

THE ſuſpended and excommunicated prelates waited upon the king at Baieux in Normandy, where he then reſided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket; and Henry, ſenſible that his whole plan of operations was overturned, and the conteſt revived, which he had endeavoured by ſo many negociations to appeaſe, was thrown into the moſt violent agitation. "Will my ſervants," exclaimed he, "ſtill leave me expoſed to the inſolence

"of

PART I. A. D. 1170.

" of this ungrateful and imperious prieſt?"—Theſe words ſeemed a call for vengeance; and four gentlemen of the king's houſhold, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, communicating their thoughts to each other, and ſwearing to revenge their ſovereign's quarrel, ſecretly withdrew from court, and made the beſt of their way to England.

In the mean time Henry, informed of ſome menacing expreſſions which they had dropt, diſpatched a meſſenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing againſt the perſon of the primate. But theſe orders came too late to prevent their fatal purpoſe. Though they took different roads, to avoid ſuſpicion, they arrived nearly about the ſame time at Canterbury, where they found the primate in perfect ſecurity; and on his refuſing, with his uſual inſolence and obſtinacy, to take off the excommunication and ſuſpenſion of the biſhops, they murdered him in the church of St. Benedict, during the evening ſervice [15].

Such, my dear Philip, was the tragical death of Thomas à Becket; a prelate of the moſt lofty, intrepid, and inflexible ſpirit, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himſelf, the efforts of pride and ambition under the diſguiſe of ſanctity, and of zeal for the intereſts of Chriſt and his church. His death confirmed to the clergy thoſe privileges which his oppoſition could not obtain. Though Henry had propoſed to have him arreſted, when informed of his renewed inſolence, he was no ſooner told of the primate's murder, than he was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in

15. *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. iii. M. Paris. Benedict. Abbas.

themſelves

themſelves ſo terrible, would now, he foreſaw, be armed with double force: in vain ſhould he plead his innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact; he was ſufficiently guilty, if the church thought fit to eſteem him ſo. Theſe conſiderations gave him the deepeſt and moſt unaffected concern, which he was at no pains to conceal. He ſhut himſelf up from the light of the ſun for three days, denying himſelf all manner of ſuſtenance; and as ſoon as he recovered, in any degree, his tone of mind, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to ſubmit the whole affair to the deciſion of the Holy See[16]. LETTER XXVIII. A.D. 1170. A.D. 1171.

THE pope, flattered by this unexpected condeſcenſion, forbore to proceed to extremities againſt Henry; more eſpecially as he was ſenſible, that he could reap greater advantages from moderation than from violence. Meantime the clergy were not idle in magnifying the ſanctity of the murdered primate. Other ſaints had borne teſtimony, by their ſufferings, to the general doctrines of Chriſtianity, but Becket had ſacrificed his life for the power and privileges of the church. This peculiar merit challenged (nor without a ready concurrence) a tribute of gratitude to his memory from the whole body of the prieſthood. Endleſs were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more nonſenſical, and more impudently atteſted, than thoſe which ever filled the legend of any ſaint or martyr. His ſhrine not only reſtored dead men to life; it alſo reſtored cows, dogs, and horſes. Preſents were ſent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Chriſtendom, in order to obtain his interceſſion with Heaven: and it was computed, that in one year,

16. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

above

PART I. above an hundred thouſand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb [17].

A.D. 1171.

As Henry found, however, that he was in no immediate danger from the thunder of the Vatican, he undertook the conqueſt of Ireland; an enterprize which he had long meditated, and for which he had obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. but which had been deferred by reaſon of his quarrels with the primate. Of that iſland ſomething muſt here be ſaid.

IRELAND was probably firſt peopled from Britain, as Britain was from Gaul: and the inhabitants of all thoſe countries ſeem to have proceeded from the ſame Celtic origin, which is loſt in the moſt diſtant antiquity. The Iriſh, from the earlieſt accounts of hiſtory or tradition, had been buried in ignorance and barbariſm; and as their country was never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, who communicated to the Weſtern world civility and ſlavery, they had remained almoſt in their primitive condition. The ſmall principalities, into which the iſland was divided, exerciſed perpetual hoſtilities againſt each other; and the uncertain ſucceſſion of the Iriſh princes was a continual ſource of domeſtic convulſions, the uſual title of each petty ſovereign to his principality being the murder of his predeceſſor. Courage and force, though exerciſed in the commiſſion of violence, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the moſt ſimple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almoſt wholly unknown among the rude natives of Ireland.

FROM this ſhort account of the ſtate of the country, you will be leſs ſurpriſed, my dear Philip, when you are told, That Henry, who landed at the head

17. Gul. Neubrig. J. Brompton. R. Hoveden.

of

of no more than five hundred knights and their attendants, in a progreſs which he made through that iſland, had little other occupation than to receive the homage of his new ſubjects. He left moſt of the Iriſh chieftains or princes in poſſeſſion of their ancient territories; he beſtowed lands on ſome of his Engliſh adventurers; and, after a ſtay of a few months, returned to Britain, where his preſence was much wanted, having annexed Ireland to the Engliſh crown [18].

THE pope's two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket, were arrived in Normandy, before his return, and had ſent frequent letters to England, full of menacing expreſſions. The king haſtened over to meet them; and was ſo fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them, on terms more eaſy than could have been expected. He cleared himſelf by oath of all concern in the murder of Becket. But as the paſſion which he had expreſſed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the cauſe of his violent death, he promiſed to ſerve three years againſt the Infidels, either in Spain or Paleſtine, if the pope ſhould require him; and he agreed to permit appeals to the Holy See, in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, on ſurety being given that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the rights of his crown [19].

HENRY ſeemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity. His dangerous controverſy with the church was at an end, and he appeared to be equally happy in his domeſtic ſituation and

18. Benedict. Abbas. M. Paris. *Expugnat. Hibern.* lib. i.
19. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

his

PART I. A. D. 1173.

his political government. But this tranquillity was of ſhort duration. Prince Henry, at the inſtigation of Lewis VII. his father-in-law, inſiſted that his father ſhould reſign to him either the kingdom of England or the duchy of Normandy: and the king's two younger ſons, Geoffrey and Richard, alſo leagued with the court of France, by the perſuaſions of their mother, queen Eleanor; whoſe jealouſy, when in years, was as violent as her amorous paſſions, in youth.

THUS Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, the beſt and moſt indulgent of parents obliged to maintain war againſt his whole family; and, what was ſtill more extraordinary, ſeveral princes not aſhamed to ſupport this abſurd and unnatural rebellion!—Not only Lewis king of France, but William king of Scotland, Philip earl of Flanders, and ſeveral other princes on the continent, beſides many barons, both Engliſh and Norman, eſpouſed the quarrel of young Henry and his brothers[20].

IN order to break that alarming confederacy, the king of England humbled himſelf ſo far as to ſupplicate the court of Rome. Though ſenſible of the danger of eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, he applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and by that means reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found ſuch reluctance to puniſh by the ſword. The bulls required were iſſued by Alexander III. but they not having the deſired effect, Henry was obliged to have recourſe to arms: and he carried on war ſucceſsfully, and at the ſame time, againſt France, Scotland, and his rebellious barons in England and Normandy.

20. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden. W. Neubrig.

MEAN-

LETTER XXVIII.

MEANWHILE the Engliſh monarch, ſenſible of his danger, and of the effects of ſuperſtition on the minds of the people, went barefooted to Becket's tomb; proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of the ſaint; remained in faſting and prayer during a whole day; watched all night the holy reliques; and aſſembling a chapter of the monks, put a ſcourge of diſcipline into each of their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the laſhes which theſe incenſed eccleſiaſtics not ſparingly inflicted upon him!—Next morning he received abſolution; and his generals obtained, on the ſame day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as a proof of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas a Becket[21]. A. D. 1174.

THE victory over the Scots was gained near Alnwick, where their king was taken priſoner; and the ſpirit of the Engliſh rebels being broken by this blow, the whole kingdom was reſtored to tranquillity. It was deemed impious any longer to reſiſt a prince, who ſeemed to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven. The clergy exalted anew the merits and the powerful interceſſion of Becket; and Henry, inſtead of oppoſing their ſuperſtition, politically propagated an opinion ſo favourable to his intereſts[22]. Victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and abſolute maſter of his Engliſh dominions, he haſtened over to Normandy; where a peace was concluded with Lewis, and an accommodation brought about with his ſons. A. D. 1175.

HAVING thus, contrary to all expectation, extricated himſelf from a ſituation, in which his throne was expoſed to the utmoſt danger, Henry occupied himſelf for ſeveral years in the adminiſtration of juſtice,

21. Ibid.

22. R. Hoveden.

PART I. enacting of laws, and in guarding againſt thoſe inconveniencies, which either the paſt convulſions of the ſtate, or the political inſtitutions of that age, rendered unavoidable. The ſucceſs which had attended him in all his wars, diſcouraged his neighbours from attempting any thing againſt him; ſo that he was enabled to complete his internal regulations without diſturbance from any quarter. Some of theſe regulations deſerve particular notice.

As the clergy, by the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which Henry endeavoured ſtill to maintain, were ſubjected to a trial by the civil magiſtrate, it ſeemed but juſt to afford them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience: he therefore enacted a law, That the murderers of a clergyman ſhould be tried before the juſticiary, in the preſence of the biſhop or his official; and beſides the uſual puniſhment for murder, ſhould be ſubjected to a forfeiture of their eſtates, and a confiſcation of their goods and chattels[23]. He alſo paſſed an equitable law, That the goods of a vaſſal ſhould not be ſeized for the debt of his lord, unleſs the vaſſal was ſurety for the debt; and that, in caſes of inſolvency, the rents of vaſſals ſhould be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himſelf[24].

THE partition of England into four diviſions, and the appointment of itinerant judges, learned in the law, to go the circuit in each diviſion, and to decide the cauſes in the counties, after the example of the commiſſaries of Lewis VI. and the *miſſi* of Charlemagne, was another important ordinance of the Engliſh monarch; a meaſure which had a direct tendency to curb the oppreſſions of the barons, and to pro-

23. Gerveſe. Dicето. 24. Benedict. Abbas.

tect the inferior gentry or ſmall landholders, and the common people in their property [25]. And that there might be fewer obſtacles to the execution of juſtice, he was vigilant in demoliſhing all the new erected caſtles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions. Nor did he permit any fortreſs to remain in the cuſtody of thoſe he found reaſon to ſuſpect [26].

But leſt the kingdom ſhould be weakened by this peaceful policy, Henry publiſhed a famous decree, called an *Aſſize of Arms*; by which all his ſubjects were obliged to put themſelves in a ſituation to defend themſelves and the realm. Every perſon poſſeſſed of a ſingle knight's fee, was ordered to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance: and the ſame acoutrements were required to be provided by every one, whether nobleman or gentleman, for whatever number of knight's fees he might hold. Every free layman, who had rents or goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner: every one that had ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; and all burgeſſes were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a coat thickly quilted with wool, tow, or ſome ſuch materials, called a *Wambais* [27].

While the Engliſh monarch was thus liberally employed in providing for the happineſs and ſecurity of his ſubjects, the king of France had fallen into a moſt abject ſuperſtition; and was induced, by a devotion more ſincere than Henry's, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his interceſſion for the recovery of Philip, his ſon and heir. A.D. 1179.

25. R. Hoveden. *Waverl.* Bened. Abbas. 26. Benedict. Abbas. 27. *Annal.*

PART I. 1179. Lewis, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, with no leſs ingenuity than pleaſantry, probably thought himſelf entitled to the favour of that ſaint, on account of their ancient intimacy: and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, that he was ſo highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor. The young prince was reſtored to health; and, as was ſuppoſed, through the interceſſion of Becket. But the king himſelf, ſoon after his return, was ſtruck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and Philip II. afterwards ſurnamed Auguſtus, took upon him the adminiſtration, though only fifteen years of age. His father's A. D. 1180. death, which happened next year, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ableſt, and greateſt monarch, that had governed France, ſince the age of Charlemagne. The ſuperior age and experience of Henry, however, while they moderated his ambition, gave him ſuch an aſcendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalſhip, for ſome time, aroſe between them. The Engliſh monarch, inſtead of taking advantage of Philip's youth, employed his good offices in compoſing the quarrels which aroſe in the royal family of France: and he was ſucceſsful in mediating an accommodation between the king, his mother and uncles. But theſe ſervices were ill requited by Philip; who, when he came to man's eſtate, encouraged Henry's ſons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father[28].

THE quarrels between the king of England and his family, however, were in ſome meaſure quieted by A. D. 1187. the death of two of his ſons, young Henry and his brother Geoffrey, who had both been in open rebellion againſt their parental ſovereign; and the rival-

28. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden.

ſhip

ſhip between old Henry and Philip ſeemed, for a time, to give place to the general paſſion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both aſſumed the croſs, and impoſed a tax, amounting to the tenth of all moveables, on ſuch of their ſubjects as remained at home [29]. LETTER XXVIII. A. D. 1188.

But before this great enterprize could be carried into execution, many obſtacles were to be ſurmounted. Philip, ſtill jealous of Henry's greatneſs, entered into a private confederacy with prince Richard, now heir apparent to the Engliſh crown; and by working on his ambitious and impatient temper, perſuaded him to ſeek preſent power and independency at the expence of filial duty, and of the grandeur of that monarchy which he was one day to inherit. The king of England was therefore obliged, at an advanced age, to defend his dominions by arms, and to enter on a war with France, and with his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; a prince of great valour and popularity, who had ſeduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy. Henry, as might be expected, was unſucceſsful; a misfortune which ſo much ſubdued his ſpirit, that he concluded a treaty on the moſt diſadvantageous terms. He agreed that Richard ſhould receive the homage, and oath of fealty of all his ſubjects, and that all his aſſociates ſhould be pardoned: and he engaged to pay the king of France a compenſation for the charges of the war [30]. A. D. 1189.

But the mortification which Henry, who had been accuſtomed to give law to his enemies, received from theſe humiliating conditions was light, in compariſon of what he experienced from another cauſe on that occaſion. When he demanded a liſt of the perſons, to

29. Benedict. Abbas. Hoveden.

30. M. Paris. Benedict. Abbas. R.

PART I. A.D. 1189.

whom he was to grant an indemnity for confederating with Richard, he was aſtoniſhed to find at the head of them the name of his favourite ſon John, who had always ſhared his confidence; and who, on account of his influence with the king, had often excited the jealouſy of Richard. Overloaded with cares and ſorrows, and robbed of his laſt domeſtic comfort, this unhappy father broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair: he curſed the day of his birth; and beſtowed on his undutiful and ungrateful children a malediction, which he could never be brought to retract[31]. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his four ſons had ſucceſſively made to his parental care; and this fatal diſcovery, by depriving him of all that made life deſirable, quite broke his ſpirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he ſoon after expired, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy.

THE character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almoſt without a blemiſh: and his natural endowments were equal to his moral qualities. He poſſeſſed every mental and perſonal accompliſhment, which can make a man either eſtimable or amiable. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and entertaining; his elocution eaſy, perſuaſive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, ſevere in the execution of juſtice without rigour, and temperate without auſterity. He is ſaid to have been of a very amorous complexion, and hiſtorians mention two of

31. R. Hoveden.

his

his natural ſons by Roſamond, the fair daughter of Lord Clifford; namely, Richard Longeſpee or Longſword, (ſo called from the ſword which he uſually wore) who married the heireſs of Saliſbury; and Geoffrey, firſt biſhop of Lincoln and afterwards archbiſhop of York. The other circumſtances of the ſtory commonly told of that lady ſeem to be fabulous, though adopted by many hiſtorical writers.

LIKE moſt of his predeceſſors of the Norman line, Henry ſpent more of his time on the continent, than in this iſland. He was ſurrounded by the Engliſh nobility and gentry, when abroad; and the French nobility and gentry attended him, when he arrived in England. All foreign improvements, therefore, in literature and politeneſs, in laws and arts, ſeem now to have been tranſplanted into England: and the ſpirit of liberty, which ſtill continued to animate the breaſts of the native Engliſh, communicated itſelf to the barons, who were all yet of Norman extraction; and made them both more deſirous of independency themſelves, and more willing to indulge it to the people, whom they had at firſt affected to deſpiſe, and of reſtraining thoſe exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary exactions, to which the neceſſities of war and the violence of conqueſt had originally obliged them to ſubmit.

THE effects of this ſecret revolution in the ſentiments of men, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to trace. At preſent I muſt return to the affairs of Germany; remarking by the way, that Henry II. left only two legitimate ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him, and John, commonly denominated Lack Land, becauſe he inherited no territory, though his father, at one time, had intended to leave him a large ſhare of his extenſive dominions.

LET-

LETTER XXIX.

The GERMAN *Empire and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *under* FREDERIC I. *ſurnamed* BARBAROSSA, *with ſome Account of the third* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXIX.

A. D. 1152.

I HAVE already obſerved, my dear Philip, That Frederic duke of Suabia, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, a prince of great courage and capacity, was unanimouſly elected emperor on the death of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the Germans, but alſo by the Lombards, who gave their votes on that occaſion. His election was no ſooner known, than almoſt all the princes of Europe ſent ambaſſadors to Merſburg, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of Denmark went thither in perſon for the inveſtiture of his dominions; and Frederic crowned the Daniſh monarch with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him as a vaſſal of the empire [1].

BUT although the reign of Frederic thus auſpiciouſly commenced, it was ſoon involved in troubles, which required all his courage and capacity to ſurmount, and which it would be tedious circumſtantially to relate. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, That, after having ſettled the affairs of Germany, by reſtoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to compoſe the diſturbances of that country, and be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predeceſſors [2].

A. D. 1155.

ADRIAN IV. who then filled St. Peter's chair, was an Engliſhman, and a great example of what may be

1. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. 2. Id. ibid.

done

done by perſonal merit and good fortune. The ſon of a mendicant, and long a mendicant himſelf, ſtrolling from country to country, he was received as a ſervant to the canons of St. Rufus in Provence; where, after a time, he was admitted a monk, was raiſed to the rank of abbot, and general of the order, and at length to the pontificate. Adrian was inclined to crown a vaſſal, but afraid of giving himſelf a maſter: he therefore inſiſted upon the Roman ceremonial; which required, that the emperor ſhould proſtrate himſelf before the pope, kiſs his feet, hold his ſtirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the diſtance of nine Roman paces.

LETTER XXIX. A. D. 1155.

FREDERIC looked upon this ceremony as an inſult, and refuſed to ſubmit to it. On his refuſal the cardinals fled, as if the emperor had given the ſignal of civil war; and the Roman chancery, which kept a regiſter of every thing of this kind, aſſured him, that his predeceſſors had always complied with theſe forms. The ceremony of kiſſing the pope's feet, which he knew to be the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, did not hurt Frederic's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the bridle and the ſtirrup, which he conſidered as an innovation: and indeed it does not appear that any emperor, except Lothario, ſucceſſor to Henry V. had complied with this part of the ceremony. Frederic's pride, however, at length digeſted theſe two ſuppoſed affronts, which he conſtrued only as empty marks of Chriſtian humility, though the court of Rome viewed them as proofs of real ſubjection [3].

BUT the emperor's difficulties were not yet over. The citizens of Rome ſent him a deputation, inſo-

3. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.* Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*

lently

PART I. A.D. 1155.

lently demanding the reſtoration of their ancient form of government, and offering to ſtipulate with him for the imperial dignity. "Charlemagne and Otho "conquered you by their valour," replied Frederic, "and I am your maſter by right of ſucceſſion: it is "mine to preſcribe laws, and yours to receive them." With theſe words he diſmiſſed the deputies, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope; who put the ſceptre into his hand, and the crown upon his head [4].

A.D. 1155.

THE nature of the empire was then ſo little underſtood, and the pretenſions ſo contradictory, That, on the one hand, the Roman citizens mutinied, and a great deal of blood was ſpilt, becauſe the pope had crowned the emperor, without the conſent of the ſenate and the people; and, on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared That he had conferred the *benefice* of the Roman empire on Frederic I. "*beneficium imperii Romani*;" now the word *beneficium* literally ſignified a fief, though his Holineſs explained it otherwiſe. Adrian likewiſe exhibited, publicly in Rome, a picture of the emperor Lothario on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between thoſe of the pontiff, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of vaſſalage; and on the picture was this inſcription:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Poſt homo fit, papæ; ſumit quo dante coronam [5].

"Before the gates the king appears,
"Rome's honours to maintain he ſwears;
"Then to the pope ſinks lowly down,
"Who grants him the imperial crown."

4. Id. ibid.

5. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Bunau, ubi ſup.

FRE-

FREDERIC, who had retired to his German dominions, was at Beſançon, when he received information of Adrian's inſolence; and having expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it, a cardinal then preſent made anſwer, "If he does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom "does he hold it?" Enraged at this impertinent ſpeech, Otho, count Palatine, would have run the author of it through the body, with the ſword which he wore as marſhal of the empire, had not Frederic prevented him. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty.—The Germans then made uſe of no argument but force, and the court of Rome ſheltered itſelf under the ambiguity of its expreſſions. Adrian declared, that *beneſice*, according to his idea, ſignified a *favour*, not a *fief*; and he promiſed to put out of the way the painting of the conſecration of Lothario[6]. A. D. 1158.

A FEW obſervations will not here be improper. Adrian IV. beſieged by William I. king of Sicily, in Benevento, gave up to him ſeveral eccleſiaſtical pretenſions. He conſented that Sicily ſhould never have any legate, nor be ſubject to any appeal to the ſee of Rome, except with the king's permiſſion. Since that time, the kings of Sicily, though the only princes who are vaſſals of the pope, are in a manner popes themſelves in their own iſland. The Roman pontiffs, thus at once adored and abuſed, ſomewhat reſembled, to borrow a remark from Voltaire, the idols which the Indians ſcourge to obtain favours from them.

ADRIAN, however, fully revenged himſelf upon other princes who ſtood in need of him. He wrote in the following manner to Henry II. of England. "There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, That

6. Id. ibid.

"Ireland,

PART I. A.D. 1157.

"Ireland, and all the iſlands which have received "the faith, appertain to the Roman church; but if "you want to take poſſeſſion of that iſland, in order "to baniſh vice from it, to enforce the obſervance of "the Chriſtian doctrines, and with an intent of pay- "ing the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every "houſe, we with pleaſure grant you our permiſſion "to conquer it[7]." Thus an Engliſh beggar, become biſhop of Rome, beſtowed Ireland, by his ſole authority, upon an Engliſh king, who wanted to uſurp it, and who had power to carry his deſign into execution.

THE intrepid activity of Frederic Barbaroſſa had not only to ſubdue the pope, who diſputed the empire; Rome, which refuſed to acknowledge a maſter, and many other cities of Italy, that aſſerted their independency; he had, at the ſame time, the Bohemians, who had mutinied againſt him, to humble; and alſo the Poles, with whom he was at war. Yet A.D. 1158. all this he effected. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom: he quelled the tumults in Bohemia; and the king of Denmark is ſaid to have renewed to the empire the homage for his dominions[8]. He ſecured the fidelity of the German princes, by rendering himſelf formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, where hopes of independency had ariſen, in conſequence of his troubles and perplexities. He found every thing there in confuſion; not ſo much from the efforts of the ſeveral cities to recover their freedom, as from that party-rage, which conſtantly prevailed, as I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, at the election of a pope.

7. M. Paris. Girald. Cambr. Spelm. *Concil.*
8. *Annal. de l'Emp.*

ON

LETTER XXIX.

ON the death of Adrian IV. two oppoſite factions tumultuouſly elected two perſons, known by the names of Victor IV. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies neceſſarily acknowledged the pope choſen by him; and thoſe princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the ſhame and ſcandal of Rome, therefore became the ſignal of diviſion over all Europe. Victor IV. Frederic's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and one half of Italy on his ſide. The other kingdoms and ſtates ſubmitted to Alexander III. in honour of whom the Milaneſe, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did Frederic's party endeavour to have it called Cæſaria, the pope's name prevailed: and it was afterwards called out of deriſion, *Alexandria del Paglia*, or *Alexandria built of ſtraw*, on account of the meanneſs of its buildings [9]. A.D. 1159.

HAPPY had it been for Europe, if that age had produced no diſputes attended with more fatal conſequences; but unfortunately that was not the caſe. Milan, for maintaining its independency, was by the emperor's orders razed to the foundations, and ſalt ſtrewed upon its ruins; Breſcia and Placentia were diſmantled by the conqueror; and all the other cities, which had aſpired at independency, were deprived of their privileges. A.D. 1162.

POPE Alexander III. however, who had excited theſe revolts, and had been obliged to take refuge in France, returned to Rome, after the death of his rival; and, at his return, the civil war was renewed. The emperor cauſed another pope to be elected, under the appellation of Paſcal III. who alſo dying in a ſhort time, a third was nominated by Frederic, A.D. 1164

9. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*

under

PART I. under the title of Calixtus III. Meanwhile Alexander was not intimidated. He ſolemnly excommunicated the emperor; and the flames of civil diſcord, which he had raiſed, continued to ſpread. The chief cities of Italy, ſupported by the Greek emperor, and the king of Sicily, entered into an aſſociation for the defence of their liberties; and the pope, at length, proved ſtronger, by negociating, than the emperor by fighting. The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and diſeaſes, was defeated by the confederates, and Frederic himſelf narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. About the ſame time he was defeated at ſea by the Venetians, and his eldeſt ſon Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. Pope Alexander, in honour of this victory, ſailed out into the Adriatic Sea, or Gulf of Venice, accompanied by the whole ſenate; and, after having pronounced a thouſand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. Hence the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of eſpouſing the Adriatic [10].

A. D. 1167.

A. D. 1168.

A. D. 1176.

In conſequence of theſe misfortunes, the emperor was diſpoſed to an accommodation with the pope. But his pride would not permit him to make any humiliating advance. He therefore rallied his troops, and exerted himſelf with ſo much vigour in repairing his loſs, that he was ſoon in a condition to riſk another battle, in which his enemies were worſted; and being no leſs a politician than a general, he ſeized this fortunate moment to ſignify his deſire of peace to Alexander III. who received the propoſal with great joy. Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a

10. Id. ibid.

number

LETTER XXXI.

number of princes and cardinals, repaired to that city, then miſtreſs of the ſea, and one of the wonders of the world. There the emperor put an end to his bloody diſpute with the ſee of Rome, by acknowleging the pope, kiſſing his feet, and holding his ſtirrup, while he mounted his mule [11]. A. D. 1177.

THIS reconciliation was attended with the ſubmiſſion of all the towns in Italy, which had entered into an aſſociation for their mutual defence. They obtained a general pardon, and were left at liberty to uſe their own laws and forms of government, but were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their ſuperior lord.

CALIXTUS, the antipope, finding himſelf abandoned by the emperor, in conſequence of that treaty, made his ſubmiſſions to Alexander III. who received him with great humanity; and in order to prevent, for the future, thoſe ſchiſms which had ſo often attended the election of popes, his Holineſs called a general council, in which it was decreed, That no pope ſhall be deemed duly elected, without having the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals in his favour [12]. A. D. 1179.

THE affairs of Italy being thus ſettled, the emperor returned to Germany; where Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had raiſed freſh troubles: He was a proud, haughty, and turbulent prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors, and not only oppreſſed his own ſubjects, but committed violences againſt all his neighbours. His natural pride was not diminiſhed by his alliance with the king of England, whoſe daughter he had married. Glad of an opportunity of

11. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.* 12. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii.

PART I. A.D. 1179. being revenged upon Henry, who had abandoned him in his Italian expedition, Frederick convoked a diet at Goſlar, where the duke was put to the ban of the empire; and, after a variety of ſtruggles, the ſentence was put in execution. He was diveſted of all A.D. 1180. his dominions, which were beſtowed upon different vaſſals of the empire.

A.D. 1181. SENSIBLE of his folly when too late, the degraded duke threw himſelf at the emperor's feet, and begged with great humility, that ſome of his territories might be reſtored. Frederic, touched with his unfortunate condition, referred him to a diet of the empire at Erfurt. There Henry endeavoured to acquit himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge. But as it was impracticable immediately to withdraw his fiefs from the preſent poſſeſſors, the emperor adviſed him to reſide in England, until the princes who had ſhared his dominions could be perſuaded to relinquiſh them; and he promiſed that, in the mean time, no attempts ſhould be made upon the territories of Brunſwick or Lunenburg, which he would protect in behalf of Henry's children. In compliance with this advice, the duke retired to England, where he was hoſpitably entertained by his father-in-law, Henry II and there his wife bore him a fourth ſon, from whom the preſent houſe of Brunſwick, and conſequently the preſent royal family of England, is deſcended [13].

WHILE tranquillity was, in this manner, happily reſtored to Italy and Germany, the Oriental Chriſtians were in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The great Saladin, a prince of Perſian extraction, and born in the ſmall country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free, having fixed himſelf, by his bravery and

13. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

conduct,

conduct, on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conqueſts over all the Eaſt; and finding the ſettlements of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine an invincible obſtacle to the progreſs of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to ſubdue that ſmall and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of the diſſenſions which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, and having ſecretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded Paleſtine with a mighty force; and aided by the treachery of that count, gained at Tiberias a complete victory over them, which utterly broke the power of the already languiſhing kingdom of Jeruſalem. The holy city itſelf fell into his hands, after A.D. 1187. a feeble reſiſtance; the kingdom of Antioch alſo was almoſt entirely ſubdued by his arms; and, except ſome maritime towns, nothing of importance remained of thoſe boaſted conqueſts, which, near a century before, had coſt the efforts of all Europe to acquire [14].

CLEMENT III. who then filled the papal chair, no ſooner received theſe melancholy tidings, than he ordered a cruſade to be preached through all the countries in Chriſtendom. Europe was filled with grief and conſternation at the progreſs of the Infidels in Aſia. To give a check to it ſeemed the common cauſe of Chriſtians. Frederic Barbaroſſa, who was at that time employed in making regulations for the preſervation of the peace and good order of Germany, aſſembled a diet at Mentz, in order to deliberate with A.D. 1188. the ſtates of the empire on this ſubject. He took the croſs; and his example was followed by his ſon Frederic, duke of Suabia, together with ſixty-eight of the moſt eminent German nobles, eccleſiaſtics as well

14. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades.*

PART I. A.D. 1088.

as laymen. The rendezvous was appointed at Ratisbon; and in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great a multitude, the emperor decreed, that no person should take the cross who could not afford to expend three marks of silver. But notwithstanding that regulation, wisely calculated to prevent those necessities which had ruined the former armies, so great was the zeal of the Germans, that adventurers assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, well armed, and provided with necessaries for the expedition [15].

BEFORE his departure, Frederic made a progress through the principal cities of Germany, accompanied by his son Henry, to whom he intended to commit the government of the empire; and that he might omit nothing necessary to the preservation of peace and harmony during his absence, he endeavoured so to regulate the succession to his dominions as that none of his children should have cause to complain, or any pretext to disturb the public tranquillity.

A. D. 1189.

THE emperor in person marched at the head of thirty thousand men, by the way of Vienna, to Presburg, where he was joined by the rest of his army. He thence proceeded through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor; who, notwithstanding his professions of friendship, had been detached from the interests of Frederic by Saladin's promises and insinuations, and took all opportunities of harrassing the Germans in their march. Incensed at this perfidy, Frederic laid the country under contribution; took and plundered Philippolis; defeated a body of Greek troops that attacked him by surprize; and compelled Isaacus Angelus, emperor of Constanti-

15. Id. ibid. Bunau, ubi supra.

nople,

nople, to ſue for peace. He wintered at Adrianople; croſſed the Helleſpont in the ſpring; refreſhed his troops a ſhort time at Laodicea; defeated the Turks in ſeveral battles; took and pillaged the city of Iconium, and croſſed mount Taurus. All Aſia was filled with the terror of his name. He ſeemed to be among the ſoldiers of the croſs, what Saladin was among the Turks; an able politician, and a good general, tried by fortune. The Oriental Chriſtians therefore flattered themſelves with certain relief from his aſſiſtance. But their hopes were ſuddenly blaſted. This great prince, who was an expert ſwimmer, ventured to bathe in the cold river Cydnus, in order to refreſh himſelf after fatigue in a ſultry climate, perhaps in emulation of the Macedonian conqueror; and by that means caught a mortal diſtemper, which at once put an end to his life and his bold enterprize[16].

THUS unfortunately periſhed Frederic I. in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign; a prince of a firm ſpirit, and ſtrong talents, who had the good of his country always at heart, and who ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation. He was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon Henry VI. ſurnamed the Severe. But before I enter on the reign of that prince, my dear Philip, I muſt carry forward the hiſtory of the third cruſade, continued by the kings of France and England.

16. Maimbourg, ubi ſup. Bunau, *Hiſt. Fred. I.*

LETTER XXX.

FRANCE *and* ENGLAND, *from the Death of* HENRY II. *to the granting of the* GREAT CHARTER *by King* JOHN, *with a further Account of the third* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXX.

A. D. 1189.

THE death of Henry II. was an event eſteemed equally fortunate by his ſon Richard, and by Philip Auguſtus, king of France. Philip had loſt a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got poſſeſſion of that crown which he had ſo eagerly purſued. Both ſeemed to conſider the recovery of the Holy Land as the ſole purpoſe of their government; yet neither was ſo much impelled to that pious undertaking by ſuperſtition, as by the love of military glory. The king of England, in particular, carried ſo little the appearance of ſanctity in his conduct, that, when adviſed by a zealous preacher of the cruſade (who from that merit had acquired the privilege of ſpeaking the boldeſt truths) to rid himſelf of his pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs, which the prieſt affectedly called the king's three favourite daughters; Richard promptly replied, "You counſel well!—"and I hereby diſpoſe of the firſt to the Templars, "of the ſecond to the Benedictines, and of the third "to my biſhops[1]."

THE reiterated calamities attending the former cruſades, taught the kings of France and England the neceſſity of trying another road to the Holy Land. They determined to conduct their armies thither by ſea; to carry proviſions along with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open

1. M. Weſtminſt.

com-

LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1190.

communication with their own ſtates, and with all the weſtern parts of Europe. The firſt place of rendezvous was the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where Philip and Richard found their armies amount to one hundred thouſand men: an invincible force, animated by religion and glory, and conducted by two warlike monarchs. They renewed their promiſes of mutual friendſhip; pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the cruſade, and exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the ſame effect, then ſeparated. Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marſeilles, both with a view of meeting their fleets, which were ſeverally appointed to aſſemble in thoſe harbours[2]. They put to ſea together; and both, nearly about the ſame time, were obliged by ſtreſs of weather to take ſhelter in Meſſina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This event laid the foundation of animoſities between them, which were never afterwards entirely removed, and proved ultimately fatal to their armament.

BUT before I proceed to that ſubject, a few words relative to the character and circumſtances of the two princes will be neceſſary. Philip and Richard, though profeſſed friends, were by the ſituation and extent of their dominions rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory: and theſe cauſes of emulation, which might have ſtimulated them to martial efforts, had they been acting in the field againſt the common enemy, ſoon excited quarrels, during their preſent leiſure, between monarchs of ſuch fiery tempers. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated at the leaſt appearance of injury; and they were incapable, by

2. R. Hoveden. Gauf. Viniſauf. *Iter. Hieroſol.* lib. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1190.

mutual condeſcenſions, to efface thoſe occaſions of complaint, which mutually aroſe between them. Nor were other ſources of diſcord wanting.

WILLIAM II. the laſt king of Naples and Sicily, had married Joan, ſiſter to Richard; and that prince dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal ſiſter Conſtantia, the only legitimate offſpring ſurviving of Roger, the Norman, who conquered thoſe ſtates from the Greeks and Saracens, as we have already ſeen. Henry VI. then emperor of Germany, had married this princeſs, in expectation of that rich inheritance; but Tancred her natural brother, by his intereſt among the Sicilian nobles, had acquired poſſeſſion of the throne, and maintained his claim againſt all the efforts of the empire. The approach of the cruſaders naturally gave the king of Sicily apprehenſions for his unſtable government: and he was uncertain whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the preſence of the French or Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in ſtrict alliance with the emperor, Tancred's competitor; Richard was diſguſted by his rigour towards the queen-dowager, whom he confined in Palermo, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed his ſucceſſion to the crown. Senſible therefore of the delicacy of his ſituation, Tancred reſolved to pay his court to both theſe princes: nor was he unſucceſsful in his endeavours. He perſuaded Philip, that it would be highly improper to interrupt the expedition againſt the Infidels by any attack upon a Chriſtian prince: he reſtored queen Joan to her liberty, and even found means to make an alliance with Richard. But before this friendſhip was cemented, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Meſſina, had taken up his quarters in the ſuburbs, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſmall fort, which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual inſults

and

and injuries paſſed between them and the Engliſh ſoldiers. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpoſe. LETTER XXX. A.D. 1190.

WHILE the two kings, who met in the open fields, were engaged in diſcourſe on this ſubject, a body of the Sicilians ſeemed to be drawing towards them. Richard, always ardent and impatient, puſhed forward, in order to learn the cauſe of that extraordinary movement; and the Engliſh adventurers, inſolent from their power, and inflamed by former animoſities, wanting only a pretence to attack the Meſſineſe, chaſed them from the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to reſtrain them from pillaging or maſſacring the defenceleſs inhabitants; but he gave orders that the ſtandard of England, in token of his victory, ſhould be erected on the walls. Philip, who conſidered the city of Meſſina as his quarters, exclaimed againſt the arrogance of the Engliſh monarch, and ordered ſome of his troops to pull down the ſtandard. But Richard informed him by a meſſenger, That although he would willingly himſelf remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others: and if the French king attempted ſuch an inſult on his dignity, he ſhould not ſucceed but by the utmoſt effuſion of blood. Philip, ſatisfied with this ſpecies of haughty condeſcenſion, recalled his orders, and the difference was ſeemingly accommodated; but the ſeeds of rancour and jealouſy ſtill remained in the breaſts of the two monarchs 3.

3. Bened. Abbas. M. Paris. G. Viniſauf, ubi ſup.

AFTER

PART I. A.D. 1191.

AFTER leaving Sicily, the Engliſh fleet was aſſailed by a furious tempeſt. It was driven on the coaſt of Cyprus, and ſome of the veſſels were wrecked near Lemiſſo in that iſland. Iſaac Comnenus, deſpot of Cyprus, who had aſſumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ſhips that were ſtranded, and threw the ſeamen and paſſengers into priſon. But Richard, who arrived ſoon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He diſembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant who oppoſed his landing; entered Lemiſſo by ſtorm; gained next day a ſecond victory; obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion; eſtabliſhed governors over the iſland; and afterwards conferred it, as a ſovereignty, upon Guy of Luſignan, the expelled king of Jeruſalem. Thrown into priſon, and loaded with irons, the Greek prince complained of the little reſpect with which he was treated. Richard ordered ſilver fetters to be made for him; and this phantom of an emperor, pleaſed with the diſtinction, expreſſed a ſenſe of the generoſity of his conqueror[4]!

RICHARD, by reaſon of theſe tranſactions at Cyprus, was later of arriving in Aſia than Philip. But the Engliſh monarch came opportunely to partake in the glory of the ſiege of Ptolemais; a ſea-port town, which had been inveſted above two years by the united forces of all the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, and defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. Before this place, Frederic, duke of Suabia, ſon of the emperor Barbaroſſa, and who ſucceeded him in the command, together with the remains of the German army, had periſhed. The arrival of the armies of France and England, however, with Philip and Richard at their head, inſpired new life into the

4. Ibid.

beſiegers;

beſiegers: and the emulation between theſe rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard eſpecially, animated by a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic ſpirit of that age, drew to himſelf the attention of all the religious and military world, and acquired a great and ſplendid reputation. Ptolemais was taken. The Saracen garriſon, reduced to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and the governor engaged that Saladin, beſides paying a large ſum for their ranſom, ſhould releaſe two thouſand five hundred Chriſtian priſoners of diſtinction, and reſtore the wood of the true croſs [5].

LETTER XXX.

A. D. 1191.

THUS, my dear Philip, was this famous ſiege, which had ſo long engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia, brought to the deſired cloſe, after the loſs of three hundred thouſand men, excluſive of perſons of ſuperior rank; ſix archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, forty earls, and five hundred barons. But the French monarch, inſtead of purſuing the hopes of farther conqueſt, and redeeming the holy city from ſlavery, being diſguſted with the aſcendant aſſumed and acquired by the king of England, and having views of many advantages, which he might reap by his preſence in Europe, declared his reſolution of returning to France: and he pleaded his ill ſtate of health as an excuſe for his deſertion of the common cauſe. He left however to Richard ten thouſand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and he renewed his oath never to commit hoſtilities againſt that prince's territories during his abſence. But no ſooner did he reach Italy, than he applied to pope

5. Benedict Abbas. G. Viniſauf. lib. iii. Saladin refuſed to ratify the treaty; and the Saracen priſoners, to the number of five thouſand, were inhumanly butchered. Id. ibid.

Celeſtine

PART I. A. D. 1191.

Celeſtine III. for a diſpenſation from his vow; and, though denied that requeſt, he ſtill proceeded, but after a more concealed manner, in his unjuſt projects. He ſeduced prince John, king Richard's brother, from his allegiance, and did every thing poſſible to blacken the character of that monarch himſelf; repreſenting him as privy to the murder of the marquis de Montſerrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Aſiatic chief, called *The old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the *Aſſaſſins:* a word which has found its way into moſt European languages, from the practice of theſe bold and determined ruffians, againſt whom no precaution was ſufficient to guard any man, how powerful ſoever, and whoſe reſentment the marquis had provoked [6].

A. D. 1192.

But Richard's heroic actions in Paleſtine were the beſt apology for his conduct. The Chriſtian adventurers under his command determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jeruſalem; and they marched along the ſea-coaſt with that intention. Saladin propoſed to intercept their paſſage, and placed himſelf on the road with an army of three hundred thouſand combatants. On this occaſion was fought one of the greateſt battles of that age, and the moſt celebrated for the military genius of the commanders; for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. The right wing of the Chriſtian army, commanded by d'Aveſnes, and the left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were both broken in the beginning of the day, and in danger of being utterly defeated; when Richard, who commanded in the centre, and led on the main body, reſtored the battle. He attacked the ene-

6. W. Heming. J. Brompton. G. Viniſauf. lib. iii. Rymer, vol. i.

my

my, with admirable intrepidity and preſence of mind; performed the part of a conſummate general and gallant ſoldier; and not only gave his two wings leiſure to recover from their confuſion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, forty thouſand of whom are ſaid to have been ſlain in the field [7]. Aſcalon ſoon after fell into the hands of the Chriſtians: other ſieges were carried on with ſucceſs; and Richard was even able to advance within ſight of Jeruſalem, the great object of his hopes and fears, when he had the mortification to find, that he muſt abandon all thoughts of immediate ſucceſs, and put a ſtop to the career of victory. LETTER XXX. A. D. 1192.

ANIMATED with an enthuſiaſtic ardour for theſe holy wars, the champions of the croſs, at firſt, laid aſide all regard to ſafety or intereſt in the proſecution of their pious purpoſe; and, truſting to the immediate aſſiſtance of Heaven, ſet nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long abſence from home, fatigue, diſeaſe, famine, and the varieties of fortune which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able inſtantly to allay or withſtand. Every leader, except the king of England, expreſſed a deſire of ſpeedily returning to Europe; ſo that there appeared an abſolute neceſſity of abandoning for the preſent all hopes of farther conqueſt, and of ſecuring the acquiſitions of the adventurers by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard therefore concluded a truce with that monarch; ſtipulating that Ptolemais, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem unmoleſted [8].

7. G. Viniſauf. lib. iv. lib. vi.

8. W. Heming. lib. ii. G. Viniſauf.

This

PART I. A.D. 1192.

This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war.

SALADIN died at Damaſcus, ſoon after concluding the truce with the leaders of the cruſade. He was a prince of great generoſity and valour; and it is truly memorable, That, during his fatal illneſs, he ordered his winding-ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city, while a crier went before the perſon who bore that enſign of mortality, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains "to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the Eaſt!" His laſt will is alſo remarkable. He ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan[9]; intending by this legacy to inculcate, that all men are brethren, and that, when we would aſſiſt them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel: an admirable leſſon to Chriſtians, though from an Infidel! But the advantage of ſcience, of moderation, and humanity were at that time indeed entirely on the ſide of the Saracens.

AFTER the truce Richard had no further buſineſs in Paleſtine, and the intelligence which he received of the intrigues of his brother John and the king of France, made him ſenſible that his preſence was neceſſary in Europe. Not thinking it ſafe, however, to paſs through France, he ſailed to the Adriatic; and being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, with an intention of taking his journey ſecretly through Germany. But his liberalities and expences betrayed him. He was arreſted and

9. Id. ibid.

thrown

thrown into priſon by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, whom he had offended at the ſiege of Ptolemais, and who ſold him to the emperor Henry VI. who had taken offence at Richard's alliance with Tancred, king of Sicily, and was glad to have him in his power[10]. Thus the gallant king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himſelf, during the moſt critical ſtate of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, in the heart of Germany; loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the baſeſt and moſt ſordid of mankind[11]. A. D. 1193

WHILE the high ſpirit of Richard ſuffered every inſult and indignity in Germany, the king of France employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negociation, againſt the dominions and the perſon of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor the largeſt offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal priſoner: he formed an alliance by marriage with

10. W Neubr. M. Paris.

11. *Chron.* T. Wykes. Not only the place of Richard's confinement, if we believe the literary hiſtory of the times, but even the circumſtance of his captivity, was carefully concealed by his vindictive enemies: and both might have remained unknown, but for the grateful attachment of a Provençal bard, or minſtrel, named Blondel, who had ſhared that prince's friendſhip, and taſted his bounty. Having travelled over all the European continent to learn the deſtiny of his beloved patron, who was a poet, it appears, as well as a hero, Blondel accidentaliy got intelligence of a certain caſtle in Germany, where a priſoner of diſtinction was confined, and guarded with great vigilance. Perſuaded by a ſecret impulſe, that this priſoner was the king of England, the minſtrel repaired to the place. But the gates of the caſtle were ſhut againſt him, and he could obtain no information relative to the name or quality of the unhappy perſon it ſecured. In this extremity, he bethought himſelf of an expedient for making the deſired diſcovery. He chanted, with a loud voice, ſome verſes of a ſong, which had been compoſed partly by himſelf, partly by Richard; and to his unſpeakable joy, on making a pauſe, he heard it re-echoed and continued by the royal captive. (*Hiſt. Troubadours.*) To this diſcovery the Engliſh monarch is ſaid to have owed eventually his releaſe.

Denmark,

PART I. A.D. 1193.

Denmark, deſiring that the ancient Daniſh claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him: he concluded a treaty with prince John, the king's brother, who is ſaid to have done homage to him for the Engliſh crown; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John attempted to make himſelf maſter of England [12].

In the mean time Richard being produced before a diet of the empire, made ſuch an impreſſion on the German princes by his eloquence and ſpirit, that they exclaimed loudly againſt the conduct of the emperor. The pope alſo threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry had liſtened to the propoſals of the king of France and prince John, he found it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their baſe purpoſes, or to detain any longer the king of England in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ranſom, and agreed to reſtore him to his freedom for one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of pure ſilver, about three hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money [13]; an enormous ſum inthoſe days.

A.D. 1194. As ſoon as Philip heard of Richard's releaſe, he wrote to his confederate John, in theſe emphatical words: "Take care of yourſelf! the devil is broke "looſe." How different on this occaſion were the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation!—Their joy was extreme on the appearance of their king, who had acquired ſo much glory, and ſpread the reputation of their name to the fartheſt Eaſt. After renewing the ceremony of his coronation, amid the acclamations of all ranks of people, and reducing the fortreſſes

12. M. Paris. W. Heming. R. Hovoden.
13. Rymer, vol. i.

which

which ſtill remained in the hands of his brother's adherents, Richard paſſed over with an army into Normandy; impatient to make war upon Philip, and to revenge himſelf for the many injuries he had ſuſtained from that monarch [14]. A.D. 1194.

WHEN we conſider two ſuch powerful and warlike monarchs, inflamed with perſonal animoſity againſt each other; enraged by mutual injuries; excited by rivalſhip; impelled by oppoſite intereſts, and inſtigated by the pride and violence of their own temper, our curioſity is naturally raiſed, and we expect an obſtinate and furious war, diſtinguiſhed by the greateſt events; and concluded by ſome remarkable cataſtrophe. We find ourſelves, however, entirely diſappointed. The taking of a caſtle, the ſurprize of a ſtraggling party, a rencounter of horſe, which reſembles more a rout than a battle, comprehend the whole of the exploits on both ſides: a certain proof, as a great hiſtorian obſerves, of the weakneſs of princes in that age, and of the little authority which they poſſeſſed over their refractory vaſſals [15].

DURING this war, which continued, with ſhort intervals, till Richard's death, prince John deſerted Philip; threw himſelf at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was received into favour, at the interceſſion of his mother queen Eleanor. "I "forgive him with all my heart," ſaid the king; "and hope I ſhall as eaſily forget his offences, as he "will my pardon [16]."

PEACE was juſt ready to be concluded between England and France, when Richard was unfortunate-

14. R. Hoveden. 15. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, vol. ii.
16. M. Paris.

PART I. A. D. 1199.

ly ſlain by an arrow, before an inconſiderable caſtle which he beſieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vaſſals a great maſs of gold which had been found hid in the earth. The ſtory is thus related:

VIDOMAR, viſcount of Limoges, had found a treaſure, of which he ſent part to the king, as a preſent. But Richard, as ſuperior lord, claimed the whole; and at the head of ſome Brabançons, beſieged the count in the caſtle of Chalus, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but the king replied, ſince he had taken the trouble to come thither and beſiege the place in perſon, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The ſame day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançons, went to ſurvey the caſtle; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the aſſault; took the place, and hanged all the garriſon, except Gourdon, whom he reſerved for a more cruel execution [17].

RICHARD'S wound was not in itſelf dangerous, but the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon made it mortal; and when the king found his end approaching, he ſent for Gourdon, and demanded the reaſon why he ſought his life. "My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted ſoldier, "fell by your ſword, and you "intended to have executed me. I am now in your "power, and you may do your worſt; but I ſhall "endure the moſt ſevere torments with pleaſure, pro-"vided I can think that Heaven has afforded me ſuch "great revenge, as, with my own hand, to be the

17. R. Hoveden. J. Brompton

"cauſe

"cauſe of your death." Struck with the boldneſs of this reply, and humbled by his approaching diſſolution, Richard ordered the priſoner to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him. But the blood-thirſty Brabançon, Marcadee, a ſtranger to ſuch generoſity, ſeized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him [18]. LETTER XXX. A. D. 1199.

THE moſt ſhining part of the character of Richard I. was his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried perſonal courage or intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality obtained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted Hero*. As he left no iſſue behind him, he was ſucceeded by his brother John.

THE ſucceſſion was diſputed by Arthur, duke of Britanny, ſon of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of this young prince's title. The king of France, whoſe daughter he eſpouſed, alſo aſſiſted him; and every thing promiſed ſucceſs, when Arthur was unfortunately taken priſoner by his uncle John, and inhumanly murdered. A. D. 1203

THE fate of this unhappy prince is differently related, but the following account ſeems the moſt probable. After having employed unſucceſsfully different aſſaſſins, John went himſelf in a boat, by night, to the caſtle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined,

18. Hoveden. The Brabançons were ruffian mercenaries, formed out of the numerous bands of robbers, who during the middle ages infeſted every country of Europe, and ſet the civil magiſtrate at defiance. Excluded the protection of general ſociety, theſe banditti formed a kind of government among themſelves. Troops of them were ſometimes enliſted in the ſervice of one prince or baron, ſometimes in that of another; and they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own. W. Neubrig. *Chron. Gero.*

PART I. A.D. 1263.

and ordered him to be brought forth. Aware of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, the brave youth, who had before gallantly maintained the juſtice of his cauſe, threw himſelf on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy. But the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, ſtabbed his nephew to the heart; and faſtening a ſtone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine [19].

JOHN's misfortunes commenced with his crime. The whole world was ſtruck with horror at his barbarity; and he was from that moment deteſted by his ſubjects, both in England and on the continent. The Bretons, diſappointed in their fondeſt hopes, waged implacable war againſt him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke: and they carried their complaints before the French monarch, as ſuperior lord, demanding juſtice for the inhuman violence committed by John on the perſon of Arthur. Philip II. received their application with pleaſure: he ſummoned John to ſtand trial before him and his peers; and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of felony and parricide, and all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France [20].

NOTHING now remained but the execution of this ſentence, in order to complete the glory of Philip, whoſe active and ambitious ſpirit had long with impatience borne the neighbourhood of ſo powerful a vaſſal as the king of England. He therefore greedily embraced the preſent favourable opportunity of annexing to the French crown the Engliſh dominions on the continent; a project which the ſound policy of

19. T. Wykes. W. Heming. M. Paris. H. Knighton.
20. *Annal. Margan.* M. Weſt.

Henry

Henry II. and the military genius of Richard I. had rendered impracticable to the moſt vigorous efforts, and moſt dangerous intrigues, of this able and artful prince. But the general defection of John's vaſſals rendered every enterprize eaſy againſt him; and Philip not only reunited Normandy to the crown of France, but ſucceſſively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou, under his dominion[21]. Thus by the baſeneſs of one prince, and the intrepidity of another, the French monarchy received, in a few years, ſuch an acceſſion of power and grandeur as in the ordinary courſe of things, it would have required ſeveral ages to attain.

LETTER XXX.

A.D. 1204.

A.D. 1205.

John's arrival in England completed his diſgrace. He ſaw himſelf univerſally deſpiſed by the barons, on account of his puſillanimity and baſeneſs; and a quarrel with the clergy drew upon him the contempt of that order, and the indignation of Rome. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who having been exalted to it at a more early period of life than uſual, and being endowed with a lofty and enterpriſing genius, gave full ſcope to his ambition; and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predeceſſors, to convert that ghoſtly ſuperiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them; ſtrongly inculcating that extravagant maxim, "That neither princes nor biſhops, "civil governors nor eccleſiaſtical rulers, have any "lawful power, in church or ſtate, but what they "derive from the pope." To this pontiff an appeal was made relative to the election of an archbiſhop of Canterbury. Two primates had been elected; one by the monks or canons of Chriſt church, Canterbury, and one by the ſuffragan biſhops, who had the king's

A.D. 1206.

21. *Chron. Trevit.* Ypod. Neuſt.

PART I. A.D. 1206. approbation. The pope declared both elections void; and commanded the monks, under penalty of excommunication, to chuſe for their primate cardinal Langton, an Engliſhman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his intereſts and attachments with A.D. 1207. the ſee of Rome. The monks complied; and John, inflamed with rage at ſuch an uſurpation of his prerogative, expelled them the convent; ſwearing by God's teeth, his uſual oath, that, if the pope gave him any farther diſturbance, he would baniſh all the biſhops and clergy of England [22]. Innocent however knew his weakneſs, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; at that time the grand inſtrument of vengeance and policy employed againſt ſovereigns by the court of Rome.

THE execution of this ſentence was artfully calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes in the higheſt degree, and to operate with irreſiſtible force on the ſuperſtitious minds of the people. The nation was ſuddenly deprived of all exterior exerciſe of its religion; the altars were deſpoiled of their ornaments; the croſſes, the reliques, the images, the ſtatues of the ſaints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itſelf had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the prieſts carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The uſe of bells entirely ceaſed in all the churches; the bells themſelves were removed from the ſteeples, and laid on the ground with the other ſacred utenſils. Maſs was celebrated with ſhut doors, and none but the prieſts were admitted to that holy inſtitution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptiſm of new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in conſecrated ground: they were thrown

22. M. Paris.

into

LETTER XXX.

into ditches, or buried in the common fields; and their obſequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. The people were prohibited the uſe of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleaſures and amuſements. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the moſt immediate apprehenſions of divine vengeance and indignation [23]. A.D. 1207.

WHILE England groaned under this dreadful ſentence, a new and very extraordinary ſcene diſcloſed itſelf on the continent. Pope Innocent III. publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, a ſpecies of ſectaries in the South of France, whom he denominated heretics; becauſe, like all ſectaries, they neglected the rites of the church, and oppoſed the power and influence of the clergy. Moved by that mad ſuperſtition, which had hurried ſuch armies into Aſia, in order to combat the Infidels, and the reigning paſſion for wars and adventures, people flocked from all parts of Europe to the ſtandard of Simon de Montfort, the general of this cruſade. The count of Tholouſe, who protected the Albigenſes, was ſtript of his dominions; and theſe unhappy people themſelves, though the moſt inoffenſive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumſtances of the moſt unfeeling barbarity [24]. A.D. 1209.

INNOCENT having thus made trial of his power, carried ſtill farther his eccleſiaſtical vengeance againſt

23. John, beſides baniſhing the biſhops, and confiſcating the eſtates of all the eccleſiaſtics who obeyed the interdict, took a very ſingular and ſevere revenge upon the clergy. In order to diſtreſs them in the tendereſt point, and at the ſame time expoſe them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into priſon all their concubines. (M. Paris. *Ann. Waverl.*) Theſe concubines were a ſort of inferior wives, politically indulged to the clergy by the civil magiſtrate, after they were enjoined celibacy by the canons of the church. Padre Paolo, *Hiſt. Conc. Trid.* lib. i.

24. *Hiſt. Albig.*

PART I. A.D. 1209. the king of England, who was now both deſpiſed and hated by his ſubjects of all ranks and conditions. He gave the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, authority to denounce againſt John the ſentence of excommunication. His ſubjects were abſolved from A.D. 1213. their oath of allegiance, and a ſentence of depoſition ſoon followed. But as this laſt ſentence required an armed force to execute it, the pontiff pitched on Philip II. king of France, as the perſon into whoſe hand he could moſt properly entruſt ſo terrible a weapon: and he proffered that monarch, beſides the remiſſion of all his ſins, and endleſs ſpiritual benefits, the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour [25].

SEDUCED by the proſpect of preſent intereſt, Philip accepted the pope's liberal offer; although he thereby ratified an authority, which might one day tumble him from his throne, and which it was the common concern of all princes to oppoſe. He levied a great army; ſummoned all the vaſſals of his crown to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, great and ſmall, in the ſea-ports of Normandy and Picardy; and partly by the zeal of the age, partly by the perſonal regard univerſally paid him, prepared a force, which ſeemed equal to the greatneſs of his enterprize. John, on the other hand, iſſued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military vaſſals at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. An infinite number appeared, out of which he ſelected an army of ſixty thouſand men [26]. He had alſo a formidable fleet at Portſmouth, and he might have relied on the fidelity of both; not indeed from their attachment to him, but from that ſpirit of emu-

25. M. Paris. M. Weſtminſt. 26. Ibid.

lation

lation which has ſo long ſubſiſted between the natives of England and France. LETTER XXX. A.D. 1213.

ALL Europe was held in expectation of a deciſive action between the two kings, when the pope artfully tricked them both, and took to himſelf that tempting prize, which he had pretended to hold out to Philip. This extraordinary tranſaction was negociated by Pandolfo, the pope's legate to France and England. In his way through France, he obſerved Philip's great armament, and highly commended his zeal and diligence. He thence paſſed to Dover, under pretence of negociating with the barons in favour of the French king, and had a conference with John on his arrival. He magnified to that prince the number of the enemy, and the diſaffection of his own ſubjects; intimating, that there was yet one way, and but one to ſecure himſelf from the impending danger; namely, to put himſelf under the protection of the pope, who, like a kind and merciful father, was ſtill willing to receive him into his boſom.

JOHN, labouring under the apprehenſions of preſent terror, liſtened to the inſidious propoſal, and abjectly agreed to hold his dominions as a feudatory of the church of Rome. In conſequence of this agreement, he did homage to the pope in the perſon of his legate Pandolfo, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vaſſals before their liege-lord and ſuperior. He came diſarmed into the preſence of the legate, who was ſeated on a throne: he threw himſelf on his knees before it; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them between thoſe of Pandolfo, and ſwore fealty to the pope in the following words. "I "John, by the grace of God, king of England and "lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my ſins, and "out of my own free will, with the advice and con-

"ſent

PART I. A. D. 1213.

"ſent of my barons, do give unto the church of "Rome, and to pope Innocent III. and his ſucceſ- "ſors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, toge- "ther with all the rights belonging to them; and "will hold them of the pope, as his vaſſal. I will "be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the "pope my lord, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully elect- "ed: and I bind myſelf to pay him a tribute of one "thouſand marks of ſilver yearly; to wit, ſeven hun- "dred for the kingdom of England, and three hun- "dred for Ireland [27]."

PART of the money was immediately paid to the legate, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom; after which the crown and ſceptre were alſo delivered to him. The inſolent Italian trampled the money under his feet, indicating thereby the pope's ſuperiority and the king's dependent ſtate, and kept the regalia five days; then returned them to John, as a favour from the pope, their common maſter.

DURING this ſhameful negociation, the French monarch waited impatiently at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to ſea. The legate at length returned; and the king, to his utter aſtoniſhment, was given to underſtand, that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vaſſal of the Holy See. Philip was enraged at this intelligence: he ſwore he would no longer be the dupe of ſuch hypocritical pretences; nor would he have deſiſted from his enterprize but for weightier reaſons. His fleet was utterly deſtroyed by that of England; and the emperor Otho IV. who at once diſputed the empire with Frederic II. ſon to Henry VI. and Italy with

27. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Hiſt. Major.*

the

the pope, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of France, now become formidable to the reſt of Europe. With this view he put himſelf at the head of a prodigious force; and the French monarch ſeemed in danger of being cruſhed, for having graſped at a preſent proffered him by the pope. A. D. 1214

PHILIP, however, advanced undiſmayed to meet his enemies, with an army of fifty thouſand choſen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France, and including twelve hundred knights, and between ſix and ſeven thouſand *gens-d'armes*. The emperor Otho, on the other ſide, had with him the earl of Saliſbury, baſtard brother to king John, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, ſeven or eight German princes, and a force ſuperior to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Liſle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty thouſand Germans are ſaid to have been ſlain [28],

THIS victory eſtabliſhed for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full ſecurity to all his dominions. John could therefore hope for nothing further, than thenceforth to rule his own kingdom in peace; and his cloſe alliance with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, enſured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that felicity. How much was he deceived! A truce was indeed concluded with France, but the moſt grievous ſcene of this prince's misfortunes ſtill awaited him. He was doomed to humble himſelf before his own ſubjects, that the rights

28. Gul. Brit. *Vit. Phil. Auguſt.* Nag. *Chron.* P. Æmil.

of

PART I. of Engliſhmen might be reſtored, and the privileges
A. D. 1214. of humanity ſecured and aſcertained.

THE conqueſt of England by William the Norman, and the introduction of the feudal government into the kingdom, had much infringed the liberties of the natives. The whole people were reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a ſtate of actual ſlavery. The neceſſity alſo of devolving great power into the hands of a prince, who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquiſhed nation, had induced the Norman barons to ſubject themſelves to a more abſolute authothority, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, than men of their rank commonly ſubmitted to in other feudal governments; ſo that England, during the courſe of an hundred and fifty years, had groaned under a tyranny unknown to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Prerogatives once exalted are not eaſily reduced. Different conceſſions had been made by different princes, in order to ſerve their temporary purpoſes; but theſe were ſoon diſregarded, and the ſame unlimited authority continued to be exerciſed both by them and their ſucceſſors. The feeble reign of John, a prince equally odious and contemptible to the whole nation, ſeemed therefore to afford all ranks of men a happy opportunity of recovering their natural and conſtitutional rights:—and it was not neglected.

A.D. 1215. THE barons entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a reſtoration of their privileges; and, that their cauſe might wear the greater appearance of juſtice, they alſo included thoſe of the clergy and the people. They took arms to enforce their requeſt: they laid waſte the royal domains; and John, after

employing a variety of expedients, in order to divert the blow aimed at the prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to lower himſelf, and treat with his ſubjects. LETTER XXX. A.D. 1215

A conference was held between the king and the barons at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines; a ſpot ever ſince deſervedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty. There John, after a debate of ſome days, ſigned and ſealed the famous *Magna Charta*, or GREAT CHARTER; which either granted or ſecured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons, to the clergy, and to the people. June 19.

WHAT theſe privileges particularly were you will beſt learn, my dear Philip, from the charter itſelf, which deſerves your moſt early and continued attention, as it involves all the great out-lines of a legal government, and provides for the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and free enjoyment of property; the chief objects for which political ſociety was firſt founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no time, nor precedent, nor ſtatute, nor poſitive inſtitution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermoſt in their thoughts [29].

29. The moſt valuable ſtipulation in this charter, and the grand ſecurity of the lives, liberties, and properties of Engliſhmen, was the following conceſſion. "No freeman ſhall be apprehended or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any other way deſtroyed; nor will WE *go upon him*, nor will WE *ſend* upon him, except by the *legal judgment of his peers*, or by the *law of the land*." (*Mag. Chart.* Art. xxxii.) The ſtipulation next in importance ſeems to be the ſingular conceſſion, That "to no man will we *ſell*, to no man will we *delay, right* and *juſtice*." (Ibid. art. xxxiii.) Theſe conceſſions ſhew, in a very ſtrong light, the violences and iniquitous practices of the Anglo-Norman princes.

THE

PART I. A. D. 1215.

THE better to ſecure the execution of this charter, the barons ſtipulated with the king for the privilege of chooſing twenty-five members of their own order, as conſervators of the public liberties: and no bounds were ſet to the authority of theſe noblemen, either in extent or duration. If complaint was made of a violation of the charter, any four of the conſervators might admoniſh the king to redreſs the grievance; and if ſatisfaction was not obtained, they could aſſemble the whole council of twenty-five. This auguſt body, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, was impowered to compel him to obſerve the charter; and, in caſe of reſiſtance, might levy war againſt him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiſcation, to ſwear obedience to the five and twenty barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chuſe twelve knights, who ſhould make report of ſuch evil cuſtoms as required redreſs, conformable to the tenor of the Great Charter [30].

IN what manner John acted after granting the charter, and under theſe regulations, to which he ſeemed paſſively to ſubmit, together with their influence on the Engliſh conſtitution, and on the affairs of France, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee. At preſent we muſt caſt our eyes on the other ſtates of Europe.

30. M. Paris. Rymer, vol. i.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Acceſſion of* HENRY VI. *to the Election of* RODOLPH *of* HAPSBURG, *Founder of the Houſe of* AUSTRIA, *with a Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* CRUSADES.

IT is neceſſary, my dear Philip, that I ſhould here recapitulate a little; for there is no portion of Modern Hiſtory more perplexed, than that under review. LETTER XXXI.

THE emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa died, as you have ſeen, in his expedition to the Holy Land; and his ſon, Henry VI. received almoſt at the ſame time intelligence of the death of his father and his brother-in-law, William king of Naples and Sicily, to whoſe dominions he was heir in right of his wife. After ſettling the affairs of Germany, he levied an army, and marched into Italy, in order to be crowned by the pope, and go with the empreſs Conſtantia to recover the ſucceſſion of Sicily, which was uſurped by Tancred, her natural brother. With this view, he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Lombards, by enlarging the privileges of Genoa, Piſa, and other cities, in his way to Rome. There the ceremony of coronation was performed, the day after Eaſter, by Celeſtine III. accompanied with a very remarkable circumſtance. That pope, who was then in his eighty-ſixth year, had no ſooner placed the crown upon Henry's head, than he kicked it off again; as a teſtimony of the power reſiding in the ſovereign pontiff, to make and unmake emperors [1]. A.D. 1190. A.D. 1191.

1. R. Hoveden. *Annal.* Heiſs, lib. ii.

HENRY

PART I.

A.D. 1191. HENRY now prepared for the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, in which he was oppoſed by the pope. For although Celeſtine conſidered Tancred as an uſurper, and wanted to ſee him deprived of the crown of Sicily, which he claimed, in imitation of his predeceſſors, as a fief of the Holy See, he was ſtill more averſe againſt the emperor's poſſeſſing that kingdom; becauſe ſuch an acceſſion of territory would have rendered him too powerful in Italy for the intereſts of the church. He dreaded ſo formidable a vaſſal. Henry, however, without paying any regard to the threats and remonſtrances of his Holineſs, took almoſt all the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria; inveſted the city of Naples, and ſent for the Genoeſe fleet, which he had engaged to come and form the blockade by ſea. But, before its arrival, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, in conſequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops; and all future attempts upon the kingdom of Naples and Sicily proved ineffectual during the life of Tancred[2].

A.D. 1192. THE emperor, after his return to Germany, incorporated the Teutonic knights into a regular order, religious and military, and built a houſe for them at Coblentz. Theſe Teutonic knights, and alſo the Knights Templars, and Knights Hoſpitallers, were originally monks, who ſettled in Jeruſalem, when it was firſt taken by the champions of the croſs. They were eſtabliſhed into religious fraternities for the relief of diſtreſſed pilgrims, and for the care of the ſick and wounded, without any hoſtile purpoſe. But the holy city being afterwards in danger, they took up arms, and made a vow to combat the Infidels, as they had formerly done to combat their own carnal inclinations. The enthuſiaſtic zeal of the times increaſed their mem-

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* lib. xv.

bers;

bers: they grew wealthy and honourable; were patronized in Europe by different princes, and became a militia of conquerors [3]. Their exploits I ſhall have occaſion to relate. LETTER XXXI. A.D. 1192.

In what manner Richard I. king of England, was arreſted on his return from the Holy Land, by Leopold, duke of Auſtria, and detained priſoner by the emperor, we have already ſeen. As ſoon as Henry had received the money for that prince's ranſom, he made new preparations for the conqueſt of Sicily; and Tancred dying about the ſame time, he effected his purpoſe by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. The queen dowager ſurrendered Salerno, and her right to the crown, on condition that her ſon William ſhould poſſeſs the principality of Tarentum. But Henry, joining the moſt atrocious cruelty to the baſeſt perfidy, no ſooner found himſelf maſter of the place, than he ordered the infant king to be caſtrated; to have his eyes put out, and be confined in a dungeon. The royal treaſure was tranſported to Germany, and the queen and her daughters were ſhut up in a convent [4]. A.D. 1194.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Sicily, the empreſs, though near the age of fifty, was delivered of a ſon named Frederic. And Henry, in the plenitude of his power, aſſembled ſoon after a diet of the German princes, to whom he explained his intention of rendering the imperial crown hereditary, in order to prevent thoſe diſturbances which attended the election of emperors. A decree was paſſed for that purpoſe; and Frederic II. yet in his cradle, was declared king of the Romans [5]. A.D. 1196.

3. Helyot, *Hiſt. des Ordres.* 4. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Relius, *de Reg. Napol. et Sicil.* 5. Lunig. *Arch. Imp.* Heiſs, lib. ii.

PART I. A. D. 1196.

In the meantime the emperor was ſolicited by the pope to engage in a new cruſade, for the relief of the Chriſtians in the Holy Land. Henry obeyed, but took care to turn it to his advantage. He convoked a general diet at Worms, where he ſolemnly declared his reſolution of employing his whole power, and even of hazarding his life for the accompliſhment of ſo holy an undertaking: and he expatiated on the ſubject with ſo much eloquence, that almoſt the whole aſſembly took the croſs. Nay ſuch multitudes, from all the provinces of the empire, enliſted themſelves, that Henry divided them into three large armies; one of which, under the command of the biſhop of Mentz, took the route of Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret, queen of that country, who entered herſelf in this pious expedition, and actually ended her days in Paleſtine. The ſecond army was aſſembled in Lower Saxony, and embarked in a fleet furniſhed by the inhabitants of Lubec, Hamburg, Holſtein, and Friezeland; and the emperor in perſon conducted the third into Italy, in order to take vengeance upon the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had riſen againſt his government [6].

The rebels were humbled, and their chiefs condemned to periſh by the moſt excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the houſe of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the ſame burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empreſs, ſhocked at ſuch cruelty, renounced her faith to her huſband, and encouraged her countrymen to recover their liberties. Reſolution ſprung from deſpair. The inhabitants betook themſelves to arms, the empreſs Conſtantia headed them; and Henry having diſmiſſed his troops, no

6. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

longer thought neceſſary to his bloody purpoſes, and ſent them to purſue their expedition to the Holy Land, (bleſſed atonement for his crimes and theirs!) was obliged to ſubmit to his wife, and to the conditions which ſhe was pleaſed to impoſe on him in favour of the Sicilians. He died at Meſſina, ſoon after this treaty; and, as was ſuppoſed, of poiſon adminiſtered by the empreſs, who ſaw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart[7]. A. D. 1196. A. D. 1197.

But Henry, amid all his baſeneſs, poſſeſſed many great qualities. He was active, eloquent, brave: his adminiſtration was vigorous, and his policy deep. None of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne were ever more feared and obeyed, either at home or abroad.

The emperor's ſon Frederic, having already been declared king of the Romans, became emperor on the death of his father. But as Frederic II. was yet a minor, the adminiſtration was committed to his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, both by the will of Henry and by an aſſembly of the German princes. Other princes, however, incenſed to ſee an elective empire become hereditary, held a new diet at Cologne, and choſe Otho duke of Brunſwick, ſon of Henry the Lion. Frederic's title was confirmed in a third aſſembly, at Arnſburg; and his uncle Philip was elected king of the Romans, in order to give greater weight to his adminiſtration[8]. A. D. 1198.

These two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all Germany in ruin and deſolation. Innocent III. who had ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair, threw himſelf into the

7. Id. ibid. Relius, ubi ſup. 8. Krantz, lib. viii. Heiſs, lib. ii.

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ſcale of Otho, and excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. This able and ambitious pontiff (of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak) was a ſworn enemy to the houſe of Suabia; not from any perſonal animoſity, but out of a principle of policy. That houſe had long been terrible to the popes, by its continued poſſeſſion of the imperial crown: and the acceſſion of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, made it ſtill more to be dreaded. Innocent, therefore, gladly ſeized the preſent favourable opportunity for diveſting the houſe of Suabia of the empire, by ſupporting the election of Otho, and ſowing diviſions among the Suabian party. Otho was alſo patroniſed by his uncle, the king of England; a circumſtance which naturally inclined the king of France to the ſide of his rival. Faction claſhed with faction; friendſhip with intereſt: caprice, ambition, or reſentment gave the ſway; and nothing was beheld on all hands, but the horrors and the miſeries of civil war 9.

MEANWHILE the empreſs Conſtantia remained in Sicily, where all was peace, as regent and guardian for her infant ſon, Frederic II. who had been crowned king of that iſland, with the conſent of pope Celeſtine III. But ſhe alſo had her troubles. A new inveſtiture from the Holy See being neceſſary, [illegible] death of Celeſtine, Innocent III. his ſucceſſor, [illegible] advantage of the critical ſituation of affairs for aggrandizing the papacy, at the expence of the kings of Sicily. They poſſeſſed, as we have ſeen, the privilege of filling up vacant benefices, and of judging all eccleſiaſtical cauſes in the laſt appeal: they were really popes in their own iſland, though vaſſals of his Holineſs. Innocent pretended that theſe powers

9. Id. ibid. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

had

had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained; and demanded, that Conſtantia ſhould renounce them in the name of her ſon, and do liege, pure, and ſimple homage for Sicily. A.D. 1198. But before any thing was ſettled relative to this affair, the empreſs died, leaving the regency of the kingdom A.D. 1200. to the pope; ſo that he was enabled to preſcribe what conditions he thought proper to young Frederic [10].

THE troubles of Germany ſtill continued; and the pope redoubled his efforts, to detach the princes and prelates from the cauſe of Philip, king of the Romans, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the king of France. To theſe remonſtrances he proudly replied, "Either "Philip muſt loſe the empire, or I the papacy [11]."

BUT all theſe diſſenſions and troubles in Europe, did not prevent the formation of another cruſade, or expedition into Aſia, for the recovery of the Holy Land. The adventurers who took the croſs were chiefly French and Germans. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was their commander; and the Venetians, as greedy of wealth and power as the ancient Carthaginians, furniſhed them with ſhips, for which they took care to be amply paid, both in money and territory. The Chriſtian city of Zara, in Dalmatia, had withdrawn itſelf from the government of the republic: the army of the croſs undertook to reduce it to obedience; and it was beſieged and taken, notwith- A.D. 1203. ſtanding the threats and excommunications of the pope [12]. Nothing can ſhew in a ſtronger light the reigning ſpirit of thoſe pious adventurers.

THE ſtorm next broke upon Conſtantinople. Iſaac Angelus, the Greek emperor had been dethroned,

10. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* tom. vi.
11. *Geſt. Innocent. III.*
12. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades.*

PART I. A.D. 1203. and deprived of his ſight, in 1195, by his brother Alexis. Iſaac's ſon, named alſo Alexis, who had made his eſcape into Germany, and was then in the army of the cruſade, implored the aſſiſtance of its leaders againſt the uſurper; engaging, in caſe of ſucceſs, to furniſh them with proviſions, to pay them a large ſum of money, and to ſubmit himſelf to the juriſdiction of the pope. By their means the lawful prince was reſtored. He ratified the treaty made by his ſon, and died; when young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having called in the Latins, became the victim of a new faction. One of his relations, ſurnamed Murtzufle, ſtrangled him with his own hands, and uſurped the imperial throne [13].

BALDWIN and his followers, who wanted only an apology for their intended violence, had now a good one; and under pretence of revenging the death of Alexis, made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople. A.D. 1204. They entered it with little or no reſiſtance; put every one who oppoſed them to the ſword, and gave themſelves up to all the exceſſes of avarice and fury. The booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver: the very churches were pillaged! And what ſtrongly marks the character of that giddy nation, which has been at all times nearly the ſame, we are told by Nicetas, that the French officers danced with the ladies in the ſanctuary of the church of Sta. Sophia, after having robbed the altar, and drenched the city in blood [14]!

THUS was Conſtantinople, the moſt flouriſhing Chriſtian city in the world, taken for the firſt time, and ſacked by Chriſtians, who had vowed to fight on-

13. Nicetas, *Chron.* 14. Id. ibid.

ly

ly againſt Infidels!—Baldwin, count of Flanders, the moſt powerful of theſe ravagers, got himſelf elected emperor; and this new uſurper condemned the other uſurper, Murtzuſle, to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. The Venetians had for their ſhare Peloponneſus, the iſland of Candia, and ſeveral cities on the coaſt of Phrygia, which had not yet ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. The marquis de Monferrat ſeized Theſſaly; ſo that Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Meſia. The pope gained, for a time, the whole eaſtern church; and, in a word, an acquiſition was made of much greater conſequence than Paleſtine. Of this indeed the conquerors ſeemed fully convinced; for notwithſtanding the vow they had taken, to go and ſuccour Jeruſalem, only a very inconſiderable number of the many knights, who had engaged in this pious enterprize, went into Syria, and thoſe were ſuch as could get no ſhare in the ſpoils of the Greeks[15].

A. D. 1204.

INNOCENT III. ſpeaking of this conqueſt, ſays, in one of his letters, "God, willing to conſole his "church, by the re-union of the ſchiſmatics, has made "the empire paſs from the proud, ſuperſtitious, diſo-"bedient Greeks, to the humble, pious, catholic, and "ſubmiſſive Latins." So eaſy is it, by words, to give that complexion to perſons and things, which moſt favours our intereſts and our prejudices!

I SHOULD now, my dear Philip, return to the affairs of Germany; but a few more particulars, conſequent on the taking of Conſtantinople, require firſt to be noted, as they cannot afterwards be brought properly under review.

15. Nicetas. Cantacuzanus.

THERE

PART I.

A. D. 1204. THERE ſtill remained a number of princes of the imperial houſe of Comnenus, who did not loſe their courage with the deſtruction of their empire. One of thoſe, who bore among others the name of Alexis, took refuge on the coaſt of Colchis; and there, between the ſea and mount Caucaſus, erected a petty ſtate, to which he gave the name of the Empire of Trebiſond; ſo much was the word empire abuſed!— Theodore Laſcarus retook Nice, and ſettled himſelf in Bythinia, by opportunely making uſe of the Arabs againſt the Turks. He alſo aſſumed the title of emperor, and cauſed a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks, and even called in their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, to aſſiſt them againſt the emperor Baldwin; who being overcome by thoſe barbarians

A. D. 1206. near Adrianople, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to wild beaſts [16]. Henry, his brother and ſucceſſor, was poiſoned in 1216; and within half a century, the imperial city, which had gone to ruin under the Latins, returned once more to the Greeks.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in the Eaſt, Philip and Otho were deſolating the Weſt. At length Philip prevailed; and Otho, obliged to abandon Germany, took refuge in England. Philip, elated with ſucceſs, got his election confirmed by a ſecond coronation, and propoſed an accommodation with the pope, as the means of finally eſtabliſhing his throne. But before that accommodation could be brought about, he fell a ſacrifice to private revenge; being aſ-

A. D. 1208. ſaſſinated by the count Palatine of Bavaria, in conſequence of a private diſpute [17].

16. Ibid. 17. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xv.

Otho

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OTHO returned to Germany on the death of Philip, married that prince's daughter, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III. after yielding to the Holy See the long disputed inheritance of the countess Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities. A.D. 129.

BUT these concessions, as far at least as they regarded the pope, were only a sacrifice to present policy. Otho therefore no sooner found himself in a condition to act offensively, than he resumed his grant; and not only recovered the possessions of the empire, but made hostile incursions into Apulia, ravaging the dominions of young Frederic, king of Naples and Sicily, who was under the protection of the Holy See. Hence we may date the ruin of Otho. Innocent excommunicated him; and Frederic, now fifteen years of age, was elected emperor, by a diet of the German princes[18]. A.D. 1210. A.D. 1211.

OTHO however, on his return to Germany, finding his party still considerable, and not doubting but he should be able to humble his rival, by means of his superior force, entered into an alliance with his uncle, John king of England, against Philip Augustus king of France. The unfortunate battle of Bouvines, where the confederates were defeated, as we have seen, completed the fate of Otho. He attempted to retreat into Germany, but was prevented by young Frederic; who had marched into the empire at the head of a powerful army, and was every where received with open arms. A.D. 1213. A.D. 1214.

THUS abandoned by all the princes of Germany, and altogether without resource, Otho retired to

18. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

Brunswick,

PART I. A.D. 1214. Brunſwick, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion. He was not depoſed, but forgot; and if it is true that, in the exceſs of his humility, he ordered himſelf to be thrown down, and trod upon by his kitchen-boys, we may well ſay with Voltaire, that the kicks of a turn-ſpit can never expiate the faults of a prince [19].

A.D. 1215. FREDERIC II. being now univerſally acknowledged emperor, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence: and, in order to preſerve the favour of the pope, he added to the other ſolemnities of his coronation, a vow to go in perſon to the Holy Land [20].

A.D. 1216. ABOUT this time pope Innocent died, and was ſucceeded by Honorius III. who expreſſed great eagerneſs in forwarding the cruſade, which he ordered to be preached up through all the provinces of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary ſucceſs. The emperor indeed excuſed himſelf from the performance of his vow, until he ſhould have regulated the affairs of Italy; and almoſt all the other European monarchs were detained at home by domeſtic diſturbances. But an infinite number of private noblemen and their vaſſals took the croſs, under the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Mentz, and the biſhops of Munſter and Utrecht: and Andrew, king of Hungary, who brought with him a body of fine troops, was declared generaliſſimo of the cruſade.

19. *Anal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. 20. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvii.
21. *Annal. Paderborn.*

WHILE

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WHILE theſe adventurers of Upper Germany marched towards Italy, in order to embark at Venice, Genoa, and Meſſina, a fleet of three hundred ſail was A.D. 1217 equipped in the ports of Lower Saxony, to tranſport the troops of Weſtphalia, Saxony, and the territory of Cologne. And thoſe joining the ſquadron of the Frieſlanders, Flemings, and ſubjects of Brabant, commanded by William count of Holland, George count of Weerden, and Adolphus count of Berg, ſet ſail for the Straits of Gibraltar, on their voyage to Ptolemais. But being driven by a tempeſt into the road of Liſbon, they were prevailed upon to aſſiſt Alphonſo king of Portugal againſt the Moors. They defeated theſe Infidels, and afterwards took from them the city of Alcazar [22].

MEANWHILE the king of Hungary and his army, having joined the king of Cyprus, landed at Ptolemais; where he was joyfully received by John de Brienne, a younger brother of the family of that name in Champagne, who had been nominated king of Jeruſalem. After refreſhing and reviewing their forces, the two kings marched into the great valley of Jeſrael, againſt the Saracens, with the wood of the true croſs carried before them. But Coradin, ſon of Saphadin, ſoldan of Egypt and Babylon, and nephew to the famous Saladin, finding himſelf greatly outnumbered by the Chriſtians, retired without giving battle; and the champions of the croſs undertook the ſiege of Thabor, in which they miſcarried. They now ſeparated themſelves into four bodies, for the conveniency of ſubſiſting. The king of Cyprus died, A.D. 1218. and the king of Hungary returned to his own dominions, in order to quiet ſome diſturbances which had ariſen during his abſence [23].

22. Ibid. 23. Jac. de Vitri, Maimbourg, ubi ſup.

THE

PART. I.

A.D. 1218. THE fleet from the coaſt of Spain arrived at Ptolemais, ſoon after the departure of the king of Hungary; and it was reſolved in a council of war to beſiege Damietta in Egypt, which was accordingly inveſted by ſea and land, and taken after a ſiege of

A.D. 1219. eighteen months. During this ſiege Saphadin died; and his eldeſt ſon Meledin, his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Egypt, who came to the relief of the beſieged, was defeated. The duke of Auſtria, with a large body of troops, returned ſoon after to Germany; and a reinforcement arrived from the emperor, under the conduct of cardinal Albano, legate of the Holy See [24].

THIS cardinal, who was a Spaniſh Benedictine, pretended that he, as repreſentative of the pope, the natural head of the cruſade, had an inconteſtable right to be general; and that, as the king of Jeruſalem held his crown only by virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to the legate of his Holineſs. Much time was ſpent in that diſpute, and in writing to Rome for advice. At length the pope's anſwer came, by which he ordered the king of Jeruſalem to ſerve under the Benedictine: and his orders were punctually obeyed. John de Brienne reſigned the command, and this monkiſh general brought the army of the croſs between two branches of the Nile, juſt at the time that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The ſoldan, informed of the ſituation of his enemies, flooded the Chriſtian camp, by opening the ſluices; and while he burnt their ſhips on one ſide, the Nile increaſing on the other, threatened every hour to ſwallow up their whole army. The legate therefore now ſaw himſelf and his troops in a ſimilar extremity to

24. Vertot, *Hiſt. des Chev. de Malte.* tom. i. Maimbourg, *Hiſt. des Croiſades*, tom. ii.

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that in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are deſcribed, when they beheld the ſea ready to ruſh in upon them. In conſequence of this preſſing danger, Damietta was reſtored; and the leaders of the cruſade were obliged to conclude a diſhonourable treaty, by which they bound themſelves not to ſerve againſt Meledin ſoldan of Egypt for eight years[25]. A. D. 1221.

THE Chriſtians of the Eaſt had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederic II. who was about this time crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. whoſe friendſhip he had purchaſed, by promiſing to detach Naples and Sicily from the empire, and beſtow it on his ſon Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. He alſo promiſed to paſs into Aſia with an army, at any time the pope ſhould appoint. But this promiſe Frederic was very little inclined to perform, and therefore found a thouſand pretences for delaying his journey. He was indeed more worthily employed; in embelliſhing and aggrandizing Naples; in eſtabliſhing an univerſity in that city, where the Roman law was taught; and in expelling the vagrant Saracens, who ſtill infeſted Sicily[26].

IN the mean time the unfortunate leaders of the cruſade arrived in Europe; and the pope, incenſed at the loſs of Damietta, wrote a ſevere letter to the emperor, taxing him with having ſacrificed the intereſts of Chriſtianity, by delaying ſo long the performance of his vow, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he did not inſtantly depart with an army into Aſia. Frederic, exaſperated at theſe reproaches, renounced all correſpondence with the court of Rome; renewed his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in A.D. 1225.

25. Id. ibid.

26. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

Sicily;

PART I. A. D. 1226.

Sicily; filled up vacant ſees and benefices, and expelled ſome biſhops, who were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices againſt the ſtate [27].

HONORIUS at firſt attempted to combat rigour with rigour, threatening the emperor with the thunder of the church, for preſuming to lift up his hand againſt the ſanctuary; but finding Frederic not to be intimidated, his Holineſs became ſenſible of his own imprudence, in wantonly incurring the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince, and thought proper to ſoothe his temper by ſubmiſſive apologies and gentle exhortations. The emperor and the pope were accordingly reconciled, and conferred together at Veroli; where the emperor, as a proof of his ſincere attachment to the church, publiſhed ſome very ſevere edicts againſt hereſy, which ſeem to have authoriſed the tribunal of the Inquiſition [28].

A SOLEMN aſſembly was afterwards held at Ferentino, where both the pope and the emperor were preſent, together with John de Brienne, titular king of Jeruſalem, who was come into Europe to demand ſuccours againſt the ſoldan of Egypt. John had an only daughter named Yolanda, whom he propoſed as a wife to the emperor, with the kingdom of Jeruſalem as her dower, on condition that Frederic ſhould, within two years, perform the vow he had made to lead an army into the Holy Land. Frederic married her on theſe terms, becauſe he choſe to pleaſe the pope: and ſince that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jeruſalem.

BUT the emperor was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, having buſineſs of more im-

27. Id. ibid. 28. Petr. de Vignes, lib. i.

portance

portance on his hands at home. The chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a ſecret league, with a view to throw off his authority. He convoked a diet at Cremona, where all the German and Italian noblemen were ſummoned to attend. A variety of ſubjects were there diſcuſſed, but nothing of conſequence was ſettled. An accommodation, however, was ſoon after brought about, by the mediation of the pope; who, as umpire of the diſpute, decreed, That the emperor ſhould lay aſide his reſentment againſt the confederate towns, and that the towns ſhould furniſh and maintain four hundred knights for the relief of the Holy Land [29]. LETTER XXXI. A.D. 1227.

PEACE being thus concluded, Honorius reminded the emperor of his vow: Frederic promiſed compliance; but his Holineſs died before he could ſee the execution of a project which he ſeemed to have ſo much at heart. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. who purſuing the ſame line of policy, urged the departure of Frederic for the Holy Land; and finding the emperor ſtill backward, declared him incapable of holding the imperial dignity, as having incurred the ſentence of excommunication. Frederic, incenſed at ſuch inſolence, ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter, and was actually excommunicated. The animoſity between the Guelphs and Ghibellines revived; the pope was obliged to quit Rome, and Italy became a ſcene of war and deſolation: or rather of an hundred civil wars, which by inflaming the minds, and exciting the reſentment of the Italian princes, accuſtomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poiſoning and aſſaſſination. A.D. 1228.

29. Richard. *Chron.* ap. Murat.

DURING

PART I.

A.D. 1228. DURING theſe tranſactions, Frederic II. in order to remove the cauſe of ſo many troubles, and to gratify the prejudices of a ſuperſtitious age, reſolved to perform his vow. He accordingly embarked for the Holy Land, leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, duke of Spoleto. The pope prohibited his departure, before he was abſolved from the cenſures of the church. But Frederic went in contempt of the church, and ſucceeded better than any commander who had gone before him. He did not indeed deſolate Aſia, and gratify the barbarous zeal of the times, by ſpilling the blood of Infidels; but he concluded a treaty with Meledin, ſoldan of Egypt, and maſter of Syria, by which the end of his
A.D. 1229. expedition ſeemed fully anſwered. The ſoldan ceded to him Jeruſalem, and its territory, as far as Joppa; Bethlem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jeruſalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring territories. In return for theſe conceſſions, the emperor granted the Saracens a truce of ten years,
A.D. 1230. and prudently returned to Italy, where his preſence was much wanted [30].

FREDERIC's reign, after his return from the Eaſt, was one continued quarrel with the popes. The cities of Lombardy had revolted during his abſence, at the inſtigation of Gregory IX. and before they could be reduced, the ſame pontiff excited the emperor's ſon
A.D. 1235. Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel againſt his father. The rebellion was ſuppreſſed, the prince was confined, and the emperor obtained a complete victory over the aſſociated towns; but his
A.D. 1237. troubles were not yet ended. The pope excommunicated him anew; and ſent a bull into Germany, in-

30. *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii. Heiſs, *Hiſt. de l'Emp.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. Maimbourg, ubi ſup.

order

LETTER XXXI.

A. D. 1237.

order to ſow diviſion between Frederic and the princes of the empire, in which are the following remarkable words. "A beaſt of blaſphemy, replete with names, "is riſen from the ſea, with the feet of a bear, the "face of a lion, and members of other different ani- "mals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth "in blaſphemy againſt the holy name; not even fear- "ing to throw the arrows of calumny againſt the ta- "bernacle of God, and the ſaints that dwell in hea- "ven. This beaſt, deſirous of breaking every thing "in pieces by his iron teeth and nails, and of tram- "pling all things under his feet, hath already pre- "pared private battering rams againſt the wall of the "catholic faith; and now raiſes open machines, in e- "recting ſoul-deſtroying ſchools of Iſhmaelites; riſing, "according to report, in oppoſition to Chriſt the Re- "deemer of mankind, the tables of whoſe covenant "he attempts to aboliſh with the pen of wicked here- "ſy. Be not therefore ſurpriſed at the malice of "this blaſphemous beaſt; if we, who are the ſervant "of the Almighty, ſhould be expoſed to the arrows "of his deſtruction.—This king of plagues was even "heard to ſay, that the whole world has been deceived "by three impoſtors; namely Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, "and Mahomet. But he makes Jeſus Chriſt far in- "ferior to the other two: 'They, ſays he, ſupported "their glory to the laſt, whereas Chriſt was igno- "miniouſly crucified.' He alſo maintains," conti- nues Gregory, "that it is folly to believe the ONE "only God, Creator of the Univerſe, could be born "of a *woman*, and more eſpecially of a *virgin*[31]."

FREDERIC, on the other hand, in his apology to the princes of Germany, calls Gregory the *Great Dra- gon*, the *Antichriſt*, of whom it is written, "and ano-

31. Gob. Perſ. *Coſmod.* cap. lxiv.

PART I. A. D. 1237. "ther Red Horſe aroſe from the ſea, and He that ſat "upon him took Peace from the Earth [32]."

THE emperor's apology was ſuſtained in Germany; and finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he reſolved to take ample vengeance on the pope and his aſſociates. With that view he marched to Rome, A. D. 1239. where he thought his party was ſtrong enough to procure him admiſſion. But this favourite ſcheme was defeated by the activity of Gregory, who ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the emperor, as an enemy of the Chriſtian faith; a ſtep which incenſed Frederic ſo much, that he ordered all his priſoners, who wore the croſs, to be expoſed to the moſt cruel tortures [33].

THE two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines continued to rage with greater violence than ever; involving cities, diſtricts, and even private families, in troubles, diviſions, and civil butchery, no quarter being given on either ſide. Meanwhile Gregory IX. died, and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Rome by Ce- A. D. 1243. leſtine IV. and afterwards by Innocent IV. formerly cardinal Fieſque, and who had always expreſſed the greateſt regard for the emperor and his intereſt. Frederic was accordingly congratulated upon this occaſion; but having more penetration than thoſe about him, he ſagely replied, "I ſee little reaſon to re- "joice. The cardinal was my friend, but the pope "will be my enemy [34]."

INNOCENT ſoon proved the juſtice of this conjecture. He ambitiouſly attempted to negociate a peace for Italy. But not being able to obtain from Frede-

32. Id. ibid.

33. Krantz, lib. viii. Murat. Annal. Ital. tom. vii.

34. Id. ibid.

ic

LETTER XXXI.

ric his exorbitant demands, and in fear for the ſafety of his own perſon, he fled into France; aſſembled a general council at Lyons, and depoſed the emperor. A. D. 1245. "I declare," ſaid he, "Frederic II. attainted and "convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy, excommunicat- "ed and dethroned; and I order the electors to chuſe "another emperor, reſerving to myſelf the diſpoſal "of the kingdom of Sicily [35]."

FREDERIC was at Turin when he received the news of his depoſition, and behaved in a manner that ſeemed to border upon weakneſs. He called for the caſket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it, and taking the crown in his hand, "Innocent," cried he, "has not yet deprived me of "thee: thou art ſtill mine! and before I part with "thee, much blood ſhall be ſpilt [36]."

CONRAD, the emperor's ſecond ſon, had been declared king of the Romans, on the death of his brother Henry, which ſoon followed his confinement; but the empire being now declared vacant by the pope, the German biſhops (for none of the princes were preſent) at the inſtigation of his Holineſs, proceeded to the election of a new emperor. And they choſe Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was ſtyled in deriſion, "The King of Prieſts." A. D. 1246.

INNOCENT now renewed the cruſade againſt Frederic. It was proclaimed by the preaching friars, ſince called Dominicans, and the minor friars, known by the name of Cordeliers or Franciſcans; a new militia of the court of Rome, which, about this time, began to be eſtabliſhed in Europe. The pope, however, did not confine himſelf to theſe meaſures only,

35. Gob. Perſ. ubi ſup. 36. M. Paris, *Hiſt. Major.*

PART I. but engaged in conſpiracies againſt the life of an em-
A. D. 1246. peror who had dared to reſiſt the decree of a council, and oppoſe the whole body of monks and zealots. Frederic's life was ſeveral times in danger from plots, poiſonings, and aſſaſſinations; which induced him, it is ſaid, to make choice of Mahometan guards, whom he was certain would not be under the influence of the prevailing ſuperſtition.

A. D. 1247. MEANWHILE the landgrave of Thuringia dying, the ſame prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another; namely, William count of Holland, a young nobleman of twenty years of age, who bore the ſame contemptuous title as his predeceſſor [37].

FORTUNE, which had hitherto favoured Frederic, ſeemed now to deſert him. He was defeated before
A. D. 1248. Parma, which he had long beſieged; and to complete his misfortune, he ſoon after learned, that his natural ſon Entius, whom he had made king of Sardinia, was worſted and taken priſoner by the Bologneſe.

IN this extremity, Frederic retired to his kingdom of Naples, in order to recruit his army; and there
A. D. 1250. died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age [38]. He was a prince of great genius, erudition and fortitude; and notwithſtanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded univerſities, and gave a kind of new life to learning in Italy.

AFTER the death of Frederic II. the affairs of Germany fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and Italy continued long in the ſame diſtracted ſtate, in which he had left it. The clergy took arms againſt the laity,

37. *Annal. Boior.* 38. Krantz, lib. viii. Heiſs, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

the weak were oppreſſed by the ſtrong, and laws divine and human were diſregarded. But a particular hiſtory of that unhappy period would fill the mind with diſguſt and horror: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, That after the death of Frederic's ſon Conrad, who had aſſumed the imperial dignity as ſucceſſor to his father, and the death of his competitor, William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and ſeveral were elected by different factions; among whom was Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. But no emperor was properly acknowledged, till the year 1273, when Rodolph, count of Hapſburg, was unanimouſly raiſed to the vacant throne. A. D. 1256.

DURING the interregnum which preceded the election of Rodolph, Denmark, Holland, and Hungary entirely freed themſelves from the homage they were wont to pay to the empire; and nearly about the ſame time ſeveral German cities erected a municipal form of government, which ſtill continues. Lubec, Cologne, Brunſwic, and Dantzic, united for their mutual defence againſt the encroachments of the great lords, by a famous aſſociation, called the Hanſeatic League; and theſe towns were afterwards joined by eighty others, belonging to different ſtates, which formed a kind of commercial republic. Italy alſo during this period aſſumed a new form of government. That freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had ſo long ſtruggled was confirmed to them for a ſum of money: they were emancipated by the fruits of their induſtry. Sicily likewiſe changed its government and its prince, as ſhall be related in the hiſtory of France, which furniſhed a ſovereign to the Sicilians.

PART I.

I NEXT propoſe to carry forward the affairs of England, to the reign of Edward I. a period at which the hiſtory of our own iſland becomes peculiarly intereſting to every Briton.

LETTER XXXII.

ENGLAND, *from the Granting of the* GREAT CHARTER, *to the Reign of* EDWARD I.

LETTER XXXII.

A. D. 1215.

YOU have already ſeen, my dear Philip, in what manner king John was forced by his barons to grant the Great Charter of Engliſh liberty, and the regulations neceſſary for preſerving it, to which he ſeemed paſſively to ſubmit. He went ſtill farther: he diſmiſſed his forces, and promiſed that his government ſhould be as gentle as his people could wiſh it. But he only diſſembled, till he ſhould find a favourable opportunity to revoke all his conceſſions; and in order to facilitate ſuch an event, he ſecretly ſent abroad emiſſaries to enliſt foreign ſoldiers, and to invite the rapacious Brabançons into his ſervice, by the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils of England. He alſo diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, to lay the Great Charter before the pope; who, conſidering himſelf as ſuperior lord of the kingdom, was incenſed at the temerity of the barons, and iſſued a bull annulling the charter, abſolving the king from his oath to obſerve it, and denouncing a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch treaſonable pretenſions [1].

[1] Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Hiſt. Major.*

JOHN

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1215.

JOHN now pulled off the maſk: he recalled all that he had done; and as his foreign mercenaries arrived along with the bull, he expected nothing but univerſal ſubmiſſion. But our gallant anceſtors were not ſo eaſily to be frightened out of their rights. Langton, the primate, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the court of Rome, refuſed to obey the pope in publiſhing the ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons. Perſons of all ranks, among the clergy as well as laity, ſeemed determined to maintain, at the expence of their lives, the privileges granted in the Great Charter. John had therefore nothing to rely on for re-eſtabliſhing his tyranny, but the ſword of his Brabançons: and that unfortunately proved too ſtrong, if not for the liberties of England, at leaſt for its proſperity.

THE barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, had ſunk into a kind of fatal ſecurity; having not only diſmiſſed their vaſſals, but taken no rational meaſures for reaſſembling them on any emergency: ſo that the king found himſelf maſter of the field, without any adequate force to oppoſe him. Caſtles were defended, and ſkirmiſhes riſked, but no regular oppoſition was made to the progreſs of the royal arms; while the ravenous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and incenſed prince, were let looſe againſt the houſes and eſtates of the barons, and ſpread devaſtation over the whole face of the kingdom. Nothing was to be ſeen, from Dover to Berwick, but the flames of villages, caſtles reduced to aſhes, and the conſternation and miſery of the helpleſs inhabitants [2].

IN this deſperate extremity, the barons dreading the total loſs of their liberties, their lives, and their

2. M. Paris. *Chron. Mailros.*

PART I. A.D. 1216.

poſſeſſions, had recourſe to a remedy no leſs deſperate. They offered to acknowledge, as their ſovereign, prince Lewis, eldeſt ſon of Philip Auguſtus king of France, provided he would protect them from the fury of their enraged monarch. The temptation was too great to be reſiſted by a prince of Philip's ambition. He ſent over inſtantly a ſmall army to the relief of the barons, and afterwards a more numerous body of forces, with his ſon Lewis at their head; although the pope's legate threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he preſumed to invade the dominions of a prince under the immediate protection of the Holy See. Aſſured of the fidelity of his ſubjects, theſe menaces were little regarded by Philip.

THE French monarch, however, took care to preſerve appearances in his violences, and only appearances. He pretended his ſon Lewis had accepted the offer from the Engliſh barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclinations, and that the armies ſent into England were levied in that prince's name. But theſe artifices were not employed by Philip to deceive. He knew that the pope had too much penetration to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon, and that they were too groſs even to gull the people; but he knew, at the ſame time, that the manner of conducting any meaſure is of as much conſequence as the meaſure itſelf, and that a violation of decency, in the eye of the world, is more criminal than a breach of juſtice.

LEWIS no ſooner landed in England, than John was deſerted by his foreign troops, who being principally levied in the French provinces, refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir of their monarchy; ſo that the barons had the melancholy proſpect of ſucceeding in their purpoſe, and

and of eſcaping the tyranny of their own king, by impoſing on themſelves and the nation a foreign yoke. But the imprudent partiality of Lewis to his countrymen increaſed that jealouſy, which it was ſo natural for the Engliſh to entertain in their preſent ſituation, and did great hurt to his cauſe. Many of the diſſatisfied barons returned to the king's party; and John was preparing to make a laſt effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himſelf and deſtructive to his people. But a ſally of wit upon the uſual corpulency of the prieſts, more than all his enormities, made him paſs with the clergy of that age for an impious prince. "How plump and well fed is this animal!"—exclaimed he, one day, when he had caught a very fat ſtag;—"and yet I dare ſwear he never "heard maſs [3]."

LETTER XXXII. A.D. 1216.

JOHN was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry III. only nine years old at his father's death: and for once a minority proved of ſingular ſervice to England. The earl of Pembroke, who by his office of mareſchal was at the head of the military power, and conſequently, in perilous times, at the head of the ſtate, determined to ſupport the authority of the infant prince. He was choſen protector; and, fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, the regency could not have been intruſted into more able or more faithful hands. In order to reconcile all claſſes of men to the government of his pupil, he made him renew and confirm the Great Charter. And he wrote letters in Henry's

3. M. Paris.

name

PART I. A. D. 1216.

name to all the malcontent barons, repreſenting, that whatever animoſity they might have harboured againſt the late king, they ought to retain none againſt his ſon, who had now ſucceeded to his throne, but neither to his reſentments nor to his principles, and was reſolved to avoid the paths which had led to ſuch dangerous extremities; exhorting them, at the ſame time, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reſtore the independency of the kingdom, and ſecure that liberty for which they had ſo zealouſly contended, and which was now confirmed to them by a ſecond charter [4].

THESE arguments, enforced by the character of Pembroke, had a mighty influence on the barons. Moſt of them ſecretly negociated with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. Lewis therefore, who had made a journey to France, and brought over freſh ſuccours with him from that kingdom, found his party much weakened on his return; and that the death of John, contrary to all expectation, had blaſted his favourite deſigns. He laid ſiege however to Dover, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. In the mean time the French army, commanded by the count de Perche, was totally defeated by the earl of Pembroke, before the caſtle of Lincoln; and four hundred knights, with many perſons of ſuperior rank, were made priſoners by the Engliſh. Lewis, when informed of this fatal event, retired to London, which was the centre and life of his party. He there received intelligence of a new diſaſter, which extinguiſhed all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, had been repulſed on the coaſt of Kent, and obliged to take ſhelter in their own harbours [5].

4. Rymer, vol. i. Brady, *Append.* No. 143.

5. M. Paris.

THE

LETTER XXXII.

THE Engliſh barons, after this ſecond advantage gained over the French, by the royal party, haſtened from all quarters to make peace with the protector, and prevent, by an early ſubmiſſion, thoſe attainders to which they were expoſed on account of their rebellion; while Lewis, whoſe cauſe was now totally deſperate, began to be anxious for the ſafety of his perſon, and was glad, on any tolerable conditions, to make his eſcape from a country where every thing was become hoſtile to him. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Pembroke, by which he promiſed to evacuate the kingdom; only ſtipulating, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a reſtitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which had been granted to the reſt of the nation[6]. Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated a civil war, which ſeemed to ſpring from the moſt inſurable hatred and jealouſy, and had threatened to make England a province of France.

A. D. 1216.

A. D. 1217.

THE prudence and equity of the protector, after the expulſion of the French, contributed to cure entirely thoſe wounds which had been made by inteſtine diſcord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; obſerved ſtrictly the terms of peace, which he had granted them; reſtored them to their poſſeſſions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all paſt animoſities in perpetual oblivion. But, unfortunately for the kingdom, this great and good man did not long ſurvive the pacification: and Henry, when he came of age, proving a weak and contemptible prince, England was again involved in civil broils, which it would be equally idle and impertinent to relate; as they were neither followed, during

6. Rymer, vol. i.

PART I. ring many years, by any event of importance to ſociety, nor attended with any circumſtances, which can throw light upon the human character. Their cauſes and conſequences were alike inſignificant.

It is neceſſary however to obſerve, that the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was ſurrounded by a multitude of ſtrangers, from that and other countries, whom he careſſed with the fondeſt affection, and enriched by an imprudent generoſity. The inſolence of theſe foreigners is ſaid to have ariſen to ſuch a height, that when, on account of their outrages or oppreſſions, an appeal was made to the laws, they ſcrupled not to ſay, "What "do the laws of England ſignify to us? We mind "them not." This open contempt of the Engliſh conſtitution, rouſed the reſentment of the barons, and tended much to aggravate the general diſcontent ariſing from the preference ſhewn to ſtrangers; as it made every act of violence, committed by a foreigner, appear not only an injury, but an inſult. Yet no remonſtrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them.

But Henry's profuſe bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the Engliſh, had any thing been done for the benefit of the nation; or had the king's enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any ſucceſs or glory to himſelf or the public. Neither of theſe however was the caſe. As imprudence governed his policy, misfortune marked his meaſures.
A. D. 1242. He declared war againſt France, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, who promiſed to join him with all his forces; but being worſted at Taillebourg, he was deſerted

deſerted by his allies, loſt what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return with diſgrace into England [7]. LETTER XXXII. A. D. 1243.

WANT of œconomy, and an ill-judged liberality, were the great defects in Henry's domeſtic adminiſtration. Theſe kept him always needy, and obliged him continually to harraſs his barons for money, under different pretences. Their diſcontents were thereby increaſed, and he was ſtill a beggar. Even before his foreign expedition, his debts had become ſo troubleſome, that he ſold all his plate and jewels, in order to diſcharge them. When this expedient was firſt propoſed to him, he aſked where he ſhould find purchaſers. "In the city of London," it was replied. "On my word," ſaid he, "if the treaſury of Auguſ-"tus were brought to ſale, the citizens are able to "be the purchaſers. Theſe clowns, who aſſume to "themſelves the name of barons, abound in every "thing, while we are reduced to neceſſities [8]." And he was thenceforth obſerved to be more greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

MANY however as were the grievances that the Engliſh, during this reign, had reaſon to complain of in their civil government, they ſeem to have been ſtill leſs burthenſome than thoſe which proceeded from ſpiritual uſurpations and abuſes; and which Henry, who relied on the pope for the ſupport of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were ſent over to be provided for: and non-reſidence and pluralities were carried to ſo enormous a height, that Manſel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held, at one time, ſeven hundred eccleſiaſtical livings. The pope exacted the re-

7. M. Paris. W. Heming. *Chron. Dunſt.* 8. M. Paris.

venues

PART I. A.D. 1243.

venues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues, without exception; the third of ſuch as exceeded one hundred marks a year, and the half of ſuch as were poſſeſſed by non-reſidents! He claimed alſo the goods of all inteſtate clergymen: he pretended a right to inherit all money got by uſury, and he levied voluntary contributions on the people[9].

A.D. 1250.

But the moſt oppreſſive expedient employed by the court of Rome, in order to drain money from England, was that of embarking Henry in a project for the conqueſt of Sicily. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the ſucceſſion of that iſland devolved to his ſon Conrad, and afterwards to his grandſon Conradine, yet an infant; and as Mainfroy, the emperor's natural ſon, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, had formed a ſcheme for uſurping the ſovereignty, Innocent IV. had a good apology for exerting that ſuperiority, which the popes claimed over Sicily, and at the ſame time of gratifying his hatred againſt the houſe of Suabia. He accordingly attempted to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom; but being diſappointed in all his enterprizes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, and finding that his own force was not ſufficient for ſuch a conqueſt, he made a tender of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. and ſuppoſed to be the richeſt ſubject in Europe. Richard had the prudence to reject the dangerous preſent, but not the power to prevent the evil. The ſame offer being afterwards made to the king, in favour of his ſecond ſon Edmond, that weak monarch was led, by the levity and thoughtleſſneſs of his diſ-

9. Ibid.

diſpoſition,

poſition, to embrace the inſidious propoſal, and immenſe ſums were drained from England, under pretence of carrying this project into execution; for the pope took that upon himſelf. But the money was ſtill found inſufficient: the conqueſt of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, ſenſible at length of the cheat, was obliged to reſign into the pope's hands that crown which he had more than purchaſed, but which it was never intended either he or his family ſhould inherit [10]. A. D. 1255.

THE earl of Cornwall had now reaſon to value himſelf on his foreſight, in refuſing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the ſolid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity: but he had not always firmneſs ſufficient to adhere to this reſolution. His immenſe wealth made the German princes caſt their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, after the death of William of Holland; and his vanity and ambition for once prevailed over his prudence and his avarice. He went over to Germany, was tempted to expend vaſt ſums on his election, and ſucceeded ſo far as to be choſen by a faction, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; but having no perſonal or family connections in that country, he never could attain any ſolid power. He therefore found it neceſſary to return into England, after having laviſhed away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a ſplendid title [11]. A. D. 1256. A. D. 1257.

ENGLAND, in the meanwhile, was involved in new troubles. The weakneſs of Henry's government, and the abſence of his brother, gave reins to the factious

10. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunſt.*
11. M. Paris.

and

PART I. and turbulent ſpirit of the barons. They demanded an extenſion of their privileges; and, if we may credit the hiſtorians of thoſe times, had formed a plan of ſo many limitations on the royal authority, as would have reduced the king to a mere cypher. Henry would agree to nothing but a renewal of the Great Charter; which, at the deſire of the barons, was ratified in the following manner. All the prelates and abbots were aſſembled: they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould violate that fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the ſoul of every one, who incurs this ſentence, ſo ſtink and corrupt in hell!" The king alſo bore a part in the ceremony, and ſubjoined, "So help me God! I will keep all theſe articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed [12]."

THIS tremendous ceremony, however, was no ſooner over, than the king forgot his engagements, and the barons renewed their pretenſions. At the head of the malcontets was Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter, a man of great talents and boundleſs ambition, who had married Eleanor, the king's ſiſter, and hoped to wreſt the ſceptre from the feeble and irreſolute hand that held it. He repreſented to his aſſociates the neceſſity of reforming the ſtate, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than thoſe which had hitherto been found, from repeated experience, unfit for that important charge. After ſo many ſubmiſſions and fruitleſs promiſes, the

12 W. Heming. M. Paris. M. Weſt.

king's

king's word, he ſaid, could no longer be relied on, and his inability to violate national privileges could thenceforth only inſure their preſervation. LETTER XXXII. A. D. 1257.

THESE obſervations, which were founded in truth, and entirely conformable to the ſentiments of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, had the deſired effect. The barons reſolved to take the adminiſtration into their own hands: and Henry having ſummoned a parliament at Oxford, found himſelf a priſoner in his national council, and was obliged to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed to him, called the Proviſions of Oxford. A. D. 1258. According to theſe proviſions, twelve barons were ſelected from among the king's miniſters; twelve more were choſen by the parliament; and to thoſe twenty-four barons unlimited authority was granted to reform the ſtate. Leiceſter was at the head of this legiſlative body, to which the ſupreme power was in reality transferred: and their firſt ſtep ſeemed well calculated for the end which they profeſſed to have in view. They ordered that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county; that they ſhould make enquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reaſon to complain, and ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, in order to give information to that aſſembly of the ſtate of their particular counties [13].

THE earl of Leiceſter and his aſſociates, however, having advanced ſo far as to ſatisfy the nation, inſtead of continuing in the ſame popular courſe, immediately provided for the extenſion and continuation of their own exorbitant authority, at the expence both of the king and the people. They enjoyed the ſupreme power near three years; and had viſibly em-

13. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunſt.*

PART I. ployed it, not for the reformation of the ſtate, their original pretence for aſſuming it, but for the aggrandiſement of themſelves and families. The breach of truſt was evident to all the world: every order of men in England felt it, and murmured againſt it; and the pope, in order to gain the favour of the na-
A. D. 1261. tion, abſolved the king and all his ſubjects, from the oath which they had taken to obſerve the Proviſions of Oxford [14].

As ſoon as Henry received the pope's abſolution from his oath, accompanied with threats of excommunication againſt all his opponents, he reſumed the
A. D. 1262. government; offering, however, to maintain all the regulations made by the reforming barons, except thoſe which entirely annihilated the royal authority. But theſe haughty chieftains could not peaceably reſign that uncontrouled power which they had ſo long enjoyed. Many of them adopted Leiceſter's views, which held in proſpect nothing leſs than the throne it-
A. D. 1263. ſelf. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors: and after ſeveral fruitleſs negociations, the collected force of the two parties met near Lewes in Suſſex;
A. D. 1264. where the royal army was totally defeated, and the king and prince Edward made priſoners.

No ſooner had Leiceſter obtained this victory, and got the royal family in his power, than he acted as ſole maſter, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He ſeized the eſtates of no leſs than eighteen barons, as his ſhare of the ſpoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engroſſed to himſelf the ranſom of all the priſoners, and told his barons, with wanton inſolence, that it was ſufficient for them that he had ſaved them, by that victory, from the forfeitures and attainders

14. Ibid.

which hung over them. All the officers of the crown were named by him; the whole authority, as well as arms of the ſtate, was lodged in his hands [15]. A. D. 1264.

BUT it was impoſſible that things could remain long in this equivocal ſituation. It became neceſſary for Leiceſter either to deſcend to the rank of a ſubject, or mount up to that of a ſovereign: and he could do neither without peril. He ſummoned a new parliament; which, for his own purpoſes, he fixed on a more democratical baſis, than any called ſince the Norman conqueſt, if not from the foundation of the monarchy. He ordered returns to be made not only of two knights from every ſhire, but alſo of deputies from the boroughs [16]: and thus introduced into the national council a ſecond order of men, hitherto regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in thoſe auguſt aſſemblies, or have any ſhare in the government of the ſtate. A. D. 1265.

BUT although we are indebted to Leiceſter's uſurpation for the firſt rude outline of the Houſe of Commons, his policy only forwarded by ſome years an inſtitution, for which the general ſtate of ſociety had already prepared the nation; and that houſe, though derived from ſo invidious an origin, when ſummoned by legal princes, ſoon proved one of the moſt uſeful members of the conſtitution, and gradually reſcued the kingdom, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, both from ariſtocratical and regal tyranny. It is but juſt, however, to obſerve, That as this neceſſary, and now powerful branch of our conſtitution, owed its riſe to uſurpation, it is the only one of the three that has latterly given an uſurper to the ſtate. The perſon to whom I allude is Oliver Cromwell; and I will be ſo

15. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. W. Heming. H. Knyghton.
16. Ibid.

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bold as to affirm, That if ever England is again ſubjected to the abſolute will of any ONE man, unleſs from abroad, that man muſt be a member of the Houſe of Commons. The people are alike jealous of the power of the king and of the nobles; but they are themſelves greedy of dominion, and can only poſſeſs it through their repreſentatives. A popular member of the lower houſe, therefore, needs only ambition, enterprize, and a favourable conjuncture to overturn the throne; to ſtrip the nobles of their dignities; and, while he blows the trumpet of liberty, to tell his equals they are ſlaves.

LEICESTER's motive for giving this form to the parliament, was a deſire of cruſhing his rivals among the powerful barons; and truſting to the popularity acquired by ſuch a meaſure, he made the earl of Derby be accuſed in the king's name, and ordered him to be ſeized and committed to priſon without being brought to any legal trial. Several other barons were threatned with the ſame fate, and deſerted the confederacy. The royaliſts flew to arms; prince Edward made his eſcape; and the joy of this young hero's appearance, together with the oppreſſions under which the nation laboured, ſoon procured him a force which Leiceſter was unable to reſiſt. A battle was fought near Eveſham; where Leiceſter was ſlain, and his army totally routed. When that nobleman, who poſſeſſed great military talents, obſerved the vaſt ſuperiority in numbers, and excellent diſpoſition of the royaliſts, he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our ſouls! "for I ſee our bodies are prince Edward's: he has "learned from me the art of war[17]." Another particular deſerves to be noticed. The old king, diſguiſed in armour, having been purpoſely placed by

17. W. Heming. M. Paris.

the

the rebels in the front of the battle, had received a wound, and was ready to be put to death, when he weakly, but opportunely cried out, "Spare my "life!—I am Henry of Wincheſter, your king[18]." His brave ſon flew to his reſcue, and put him in a place of ſafety. LETTER XXXII. A.D. 1265.

THE victory of Eveſham proved deciſive in favour of the royal party, but was uſed with moderation. Although the ſuppreſſion of ſo extenſive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and ſtrengthens as well as enlarges the prerogatives of the crown, no ſacrifices of national liberty were exacted upon this occaſion. The clemency of this victory is alſo remarkable; no blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold. The mild diſpoſition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the inſolence of power, and gradually reſtored order to the ſeveral members of the ſtate.

THE affairs of England were no ſooner ſettled, than prince Edward, ſeduced by a thirſt of glory, undertook an expedition to the Holy Land, where he ſignalized himſelf by many acts of valour, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the Saracens, that they employed an aſſaſſin to murder him. The ruffian wounded Edward in the arm, but paid for his temerity with his life[19]. Meanwhile the prince's abſence from England was productive of many pernicious conſequences, which the old king, unequal to the burden of government, was little able to prevent[20]. He therefore implored his gallant ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in A.D. 1270.

18. W. Heming, lib. iii.

19. M. Paris. T. Wykes.

20. The police was ſo looſe during the latter part of Henry's reign, that not only ſingle houſes, but whole villages were often pillaged by bands of robbers. *Chron. Dunſt.*

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ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble hands. Edward obeyed; but before his arrival the king expired, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign, the longeſt in the Engliſh annals.

THE moſt obvious feature in the character of Henry III. is his weakneſs. From this ſource, rather than from inſincerity or treachery, aroſe his negligence in obſerving his promiſes; and hence for the ſake of preſent conveniency, he was eaſily induced to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people. A better head, with the ſame diſpoſitions, would have prevented him from falling into ſo many errors; but (every good has its allay!) with a worſe heart, it would have enabled him to maintain them.

PRINCE Edward had reached Sicily, in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, and immediately proceeded homeward. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, claim your attention, before I carry farther the tranſactions of our own iſland, which now become truly important. The reign of Edward I. forms a new æra in the hiſtory of Britain.

LET-

LETTER XXXIII.

FRANCE, *from the Reign of* PHILIP AUGUSTUS, *to the End of the Reign of* LEWIS IX. *commonly called* ST. LEWIS, *with ſome Account of the laſt* CRUSADE.

LETTER XXXIII.

THE reign of Philip Auguſtus has already engaged our attention. We have had occaſion to obſerve the great abilities of that prince, both as a warrior and a politician: we have ſeen him reunite many fine provinces to the kingdom of France, at the expence of the Engliſh monarchy: we have ſeen him attempt the conqueſt of England itſelf; and we have alſo ſeen in what manner prince Lewis was obliged to abandon that project, notwithſtanding the power and the intrigues of Philip. Soon after the return of Lewis, his father died, and left the kingdom of France twice as large as he had received it; ſo that future acquiſitions became eaſy to his ſucceſſors. A.D. 1223.

LEWIS VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His ſhort reign was chiefly ſpent in a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, in the proſecution of which he died. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis. During the minority of this prince, though in his twelfth year at his acceſſion, a variety of diſorders aroſe in France, occaſioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vaſſals of the crown. But all theſe were happily compoſed by the prudence and firmneſs of Blanche of Caſtile, the regent and queen-mother. A.D. 1226.

LEWIS no ſooner came of age than he was univerſally acknowledged to be the greateſt prince in Europe; and his character is, perhaps, the moſt ſingular in the annals of hiſtory. To the mean and abject A.D. 1235.

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ſuperſtition of a monk, he united all the courage and magnanimity of a hero; nay, what may be deemed ſtill more wonderful, the juſtice and integrity of the ſincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildneſs and humanity of the true philoſopher. So far was he from taking advantage of the diviſions among the Engliſh, during the reign of Henry III. or attempting to expel thoſe dangerous rivals from the provinces which they ſtill poſſeſſed in France, that he entertained many ſcruples with regard to the ſentence of attainder pronounced againſt the king's father; and had not his biſhops, it is ſaid, perſuaded him, that John was juſtly puniſhed for his barbarity and felony, he would have reſtored all the conqueſts made by Philip Auguſtus [1].

A. D. 1240.

When Gregory IX. after excommunicating Frederic II. offered the empire to the count of Artois, brother to St. Lewis, this pious prince acted in the ſame diſintereſted manner. He did not indeed refuſe that gift, as what the pope had no right to beſtow, but he replied, That Frederic had always appeared to him a good catholic; that ambaſſadors ſhould firſt be ſent to him, to know his ſentiments touching the faith; that, if orthodox, there could be no reaſon for attacking him; but if heretical, war ought to be carried on againſt him with violence; and, in ſuch caſe, even againſt the pope himſelf [2].

This was Lewis's foible. Perſuaded that heretics, or thoſe who did not hold the eſtabliſhed belief, deſerved the puniſhment of death, he favoured the tribunal of the inquiſition: and the ſame turn of thinking led him to aſcribe merit to a war againſt Infidels. His humane heart became a prey to the barbarous de-

1. Nangius, in *Vita Ludovici IX.* 2. Id. ibid.

votion of the times. Being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which deprived him of his ſenſes, and almoſt of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to ſhed the blood of Infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as ſoon as he recovered, to engage in a new cruſade, and immediately took the croſs. Nor could any remonſtrances engage him to forego his purpoſe: he conſidered his vow as a ſacred obligation, which it was not permitted man to diſſolve [3]. LETTER XXXIII. A. D. 1244.

But Lewis, though not to be diſſuaded from his Eaſtern expedition, was in no hurry to depart. He ſpent four years in making preparations, and in ſettling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother; and, at length, ſet ſail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almoſt all the knights of France. At Cyprus it was reſolved to make a deſcent upon Egypt, as experience had ſhewn, that Jeruſalem and the Holy Land could never be preſerved, while that country remained in the hands of the Infidels [4]. But before I ſpeak of the tranſactions in Egypt, I muſt ſay a few words of the ſtate of the Eaſt in theſe times. A. D. 1248.

Asia, my dear Philip, from the earlieſt ages, has been the ſeat of enormous monarchy, and the theatre of the moſt aſtoniſhing revolutions. You have ſeen with what rapidity it was over-run by the Arabs, and afterwards by the Turks; you have ſeen thoſe conquering people, for a time, borne down by the champions of the croſs, and Saladin himſelf ſink beneath the arm of our illuſtrious Richard. But neither the zeal of the Chriſtians, nor the enthuſiaſm of the Mahometans, who were ſuppoſed to have carried con-

3. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis*,

4. Ibid.

queſt

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queſt to its utmoſt point, was attended with a ſucceſs equal to the hardy valour of the Moguls, or Weſtern Tartars, under Genghiz-Kan; who, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a ſmall territory, to more than eighteen hundred leagues, from caſt to weſt, and above a thouſand from north to ſouth. He conquered Perſia, and puſhed his conqueſts as far as the Euphrates; Indoſtan, and great part of China; all Tartary, and the frontier provinces of Ruſſia.

THIS wonderful man died in 1226, when he was preparing to complete the conqueſt of China. His empire was divided among his four ſons, whoſe names it is unneceſſary here to mention. They continued united till the death of Octay, his ſucceſſor as Great Kan, who totally ſubjected Egypt. One of his grandſons paſſed the Euphrates; diſpoſſeſſed the Turks of that part of Aſia Minor now called Natolia, and terminated the dominion of the Califs of Bagdat. Another of them carried terror into Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, and to the very gates of Conſtantinople [5].

THESE Weſtern Tartars, accuſtomed from their birth to brave hunger, fatigue, and death, were irreſiſtible, while they preſerved their ſavage auſterity of manners. The offspring of the ſame deſarts which had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and Turks, they were more fierce than either; and as the Goths had formerly ſeized upon Thrace, when expelled by the Huns from their native habitations, the Koraſmins, in like manner, flying before the Moguls, over-ran Syria and Paleſtine, and made themſelves maſters of Jeruſalem in 1244, putting the inhabitants to the ſword [6].

5. De la Croix, *Vit. Genghiz-Kan. Mod. Univ. Hiſt.* vol. iii. fol. edit.

6. Id. ibid.

The

The Chriſtians, however, ſtill poſſeſſed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Ptolemais; and though always divided among themſelves, and cutting one another's throats, they united in imploring the aſſiſtance of Europe againſt this new danger.

SUCH was the ſituation of the Eaſt, and of the Oriental Chriſtians, when St. Lewis ſet out for their relief. But inſtead of ſailing immediately for Paleſtine, he made a deſcent, as I have obſerved, upon Egypt. His declared purpoſe in ſo doing has been already explained. But as the ſoldan of Egypt was not now in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, this invaſion muſt have proceeded from the king of France's ignorance of the affairs of the Eaſt; or from an ambition of conquering ſo fine a country, more than from any hope of advancing the intereſts of Chriſtianity.

LEWIS and his prodigious army, ſaid to have been tranſported in eighteen hundred ſhips, landed near the city of Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, was abandoned to them. He afterwards received freſh ſuccours from France; and found himſelf in the plains of Egypt at the head of ſixty thouſand men, the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. What might not have been expected from ſuch a force, under ſuch a general! Not only Egypt, but Syria, ſhould have yielded to their arms. Yet this cruſade, like all the reſt, terminated in ſorrow and diſappointment. One half of theſe fine troops fell a prey to ſickneſs and debauchery: the other was defeated by the ſoldan, at Maſſoura; where Lewis beheld his brother Robert of Artois killed by his ſide, and himſelf taken priſoner, together with his other two brothers, the count of Anjou

A.D. 1249.

A.D. 1250.

PART I. Anjou and the count of Poitiers, and all his nobi-
A.D. 1250. lity [7].

THE French, however, were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Damietta. There St. Lewis's conſort was lodged; and thinking her ſafety doubtful, as the place was beſieged, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the Sieur Joinville, a venerable knight, and made him promiſe, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, if ever her virtue ſhould be in danger. "Moſt readily," anſwered Joinville, in the true ſpirit of the times, "will I perform at your requeſt, what I thought in-"deed to do of myſelf, ſhould misfortune make it "neceſſary." But he had happily no occaſion to put his promiſe in execution. Damietta held out, and a treaty was concluded with the ſoldan; by which that city was reſtored, in conſideration of the king's liberty, and a thouſand pieces of gold paid for the ranſom of the other priſoners [8].

LEWIS was now ſolicited to return to Europe with the remnant of his fleet and army, but devotion led him to Paleſtine; where he continued for four years, without effecting any thing of conſequence. In the meantime the affairs of France were in much confuſion. The queen-mother, during the king's captivity, had unadviſedly given permiſſion to a fanatical monk, to preach a new cruſade for her ſon's releaſe; and this man availing himſelf of the paſtoral circum-
A.D. 1251. ſtance in the Nativity, aſſembled near one hundred thouſand people of low condition, whom he called ſhepherds. It ſoon appeared, however, that they might with more propriety have been ſtyled wolves. They robbed and pillaged wherever they came; and

7. Joinville, *Hiſt. de St. Louis.* 8. Id. ibid.

it

it was found neceſſary to diſperſe them by force of arms. Nor was that effected without much trouble [9].

THE death of the queen-mother determined Lewis, at laſt, to reviſit France. But he only returned in order to prepare for a new cruſade; ſo ſtrongly had that madneſs taken hold of his mind!—Meanwhile his zeal for juſtice, his care to reform abuſes, his wiſe laws, his virtuous example, ſoon repaired the evils occaſioned by his abſence. He eſtabliſhed, on a ſolid foundation, the right of appeal to the royal judges; one of the beſt expedients for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. He abſolutely prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had tolerated: he ſubſtituted juridical proofs, inſtead of thoſe by duel; and, no leſs enlightened than pious, he reſcued France from the exactions of the court of Rome [10]. A. D. 1258.

IN his tranſactions with his neighbours, Lewis was alike exemplary. Equity and diſintereſtedneſs were the baſis of his policy. If he ſometimes carried theſe virtues too far, as a prince, they always did him honour as a man: they even procured him reſpect as a ſovereign; and ſecured to his ſubjects the greateſt bleſſing that a people can enjoy, peace and proſperity. He ceded to James I. of Arragon his inconteſtable right to Rouſſillon and Catalonia, which had been ſubject to France from the time of Charlemagne, in exchange for certain claims of that monarch to ſome fiefs in Provence and Languedoc; and he reſtored to the Engliſh crown Querci, Perigord, and the Li- A. D. 1262. A. D. 1263.

9. Fontenay, *Hiſt. de l'Egliſe Gallic.* tom. xi. Boulay, *Hiſt. Acad. Paris*, tom iii.
10. Id. Ibid.

mouſin,

PART I. A. D. 1263. mouſin, for no higher conſideration than that the king of England ſhould renounce all right to Normandy, Maine, and the other forfeited provinces, which were already in the poſſeſſion of France. But Lewis, as has been obſerved, was doubtful of the right by which he held thoſe provinces. And although an ambitious prince, inſtead of making this compromiſe, might have taken advantage of the troubles of England under Henry III. to ſeize Guienne, and all that remained to that monarchy in France, ſuch a prince might alſo, by theſe means, have drawn on himſelf the jealouſy of his neighbours, and in the end have fallen a ſacrifice to his rapacity: whereas Lewis, by his moderation, acquired the confidence of all Eu-
A. D. 1264. rope, and was choſen arbiter between the king of England and his barons, at a time when it was his intereſt to have ruined both; an honour never conferred upon any other rival monarch, and with which, perhaps, no other could ever ſafely have been truſted. He determined in favour of the king, without prejudice to the people: he annulled the Proviſions of Oxford, as derogatory to the rights of the crown, but enforced the obſervation of the Great Charter. And although this ſentence was rejected by Leiceſter and his party, it will remain to all ages an eternal monument of the equity of Lewis[11].

THE moſt blameable circumſtance in this great monarch's conduct, and perhaps the only one that deſerves to be conſidered in that light, was his approbation of the treaty between his brother and the pope, relative to Sicily. That kingdom had formerly been offered, as you have ſeen, to the earl of Cornwall, and to prince Edmond, ſon of Henry III. After being given up by England, it was offered to the count of

11. Rymer, vol. i. *Chron.* T. Wykes. *Chron. Dunſt.* M. Paris. W. Heming.

Anjou:

Anjou: he accepted it; and Lewis permitted a cruſuade to be preached in France againſt Mainfroy, who had now actually uſurped the Sicilian throne, in prejudice of his nephew Conradine. The count of Anjou marched into Italy at the head of a numerous army. Mainfroy was defeated and ſlain in the plains of Benevento, and Conradine appeared in vindication of his native rights. He alſo was routed, and taken priſoner, together with his uncle, the duke of Auſtria; and both were executed at Naples, upon a ſcaffold, at the requeſt of the pope, and by the ſentence of a pretended court of juſtice [12]: an indignity not hitherto offered to a crowned head. LETTER XXXIII. A.D. 1266. A.D. 1268.

In conſequence of the revolution that followed this barbarity, by which Charles, count of Anjou, eſtabliſhed himſelf on the Sicilian throne, the ancient rights of that iſland were annihilated, and it fell entirely under the juriſdiction of the pope. Meanwhile St. Lewis, who, either out of reſpect to his Holineſs, or of complaiſance to his brother, thus beheld with indifference the liberties of mankind ſacrificed, and the blood of princes unjuſtly ſpilt, was preparing to lead a new army againſt the Infidels. He hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis; and, for that purpoſe, landed on the coaſt of Africa, ſword in hand, at the head of his troops. But the Muſſulman refuſed to embrace Chriſtianity: the French army was ſeized with an epidemical diſtemper; of which Lewis beheld one of his ſons expire, and another at the point of death, when he was ſeized with it himſelf, and died in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip, recovered; kept the field againſt the Moors; and ſaved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the A.D. 1270. A.D. 1271.

12. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Nap.*

Hardy.

PART I. Hardy [13]. But the reign of this prince muſt not at preſent engage our attention: we muſt return to the affairs of Spain, which had ſtill little connexion with the reſt of Europe, but was every day riſing into conſequence.

LETTER XXXIV.

SPAIN, *from the Middle of the Eleventh to the End of the Thirteenth* CENTURY.

LETTER XXIV. WE left Spain, my dear Philip, towards the middle of the eleventh century, diſmembered by the Moors and Chriſtians, and both a prey to civil wars. About that time Ferdinand, ſon of Sancho, ſurnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Caſtile, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his bro-
A. D. 1037. ther-in-law, whom he ſlew in battle. Caſtile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces [1].

IN the reign of this Ferdinand lived Don Roderigo, ſurnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whoſe father he had murdered. They who know nothing of this hiſtory, but from the celebrated tragedy written by Corneille, ſuppoſe that Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Andaluſia. The Cid began his famous exploits by aſſiſting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to ſtrip his brothers and ſiſters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murder-
A. D. 1072. ed in one of theſe unjuſt expeditions, his brothers entered again into poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

13. Joinville, ubi ſup. Mezeray, tom. iii. Henault, tom. i.

1. Mariana, *Hiſt. Gen. de Eſpana.*

A SHORT

A SHORT digreſſion will be here neceſſary. Beſides the many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were alſo many independent lords, who came on horſe-back completely armed, and followed by ſeveral ſquires, to offer their ſervice to the princes and princeſſes engaged in war. The princes with whom theſe lords engaged girded them with a belt, and preſented them with a ſword, with which they gave them a ſlight blow on the ſhoulder; and hence the origin of knights-errant, and of the number of ſingle combats, which ſo long deſolated Spain.

ONE of the moſt celebrated of theſe combats was fought after the murder of that king Sancho, whoſe death I have juſt mentioned, and who was aſſaſſinated while he was beſieging his ſiſter Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the infanta againſt Don Diego de Lara, who had accuſed her. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights, and the horſe of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, carried his maſter out of the liſts, and the combat was declared undecided.

OF all the Spaniſh knights, the Cid diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt eminently againſt the Moors. Several knights ranged themſelves under his banner; and theſe knights, with their ſquires and horſemen, compoſed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the moſt beautiful ſteeds in the country. With this force he overcame ſeveral Mooriſh kings; and having fortified the city of Alcaſſar, he there erected a little ſovereignty.

BUT of the various enterprizes in which the Cid and his followers were engaged, the moſt gallant was the ſiege of Toledo, which his maſter Alphonſo VI.

PART I. king of Old Caſtile, undertook againſt the Moors. The noiſe of this ſiege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy; particularly Raymond, count of Tholouſe, and two princes of the blood royal of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Mooriſh king, named Hiaya, was the ſon of Almamon, one of the moſt generous princes mentioned in hiſtory, and who had afforded an aſylum, in this very city of Toledo, to Alphonſo, when perſecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in ſtrict friendſhip; and Almamon was ſo far from detaining Alphonſo, when he became king by the death of Sancho, that he gave him part of his treaſures, and they ſhed tears, it is ſaid, at parting. But the ſpirit of thoſe times made every thing lawful againſt Infidels, and even meritorious. Several Mooriſh princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonſo with his ingratitude, and many remarkable combats were fought under the walls.

A.D. 1084.

THIS ſiege laſted a whole year; at the end of which Toledo capitulated; on condition that the Moors ſhould enjoy their religion and laws, and ſuffer no injury in their perſons or property [2]. All New Caſtile, in a ſhort time, yielded to the Cid, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Alphonſo; and Madrid, a ſmall place, which was one day to become the capital of Spain, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians.

A.D. 1085.

IMMEDIATELY after the reduction of Toledo, Alphonſo called an aſſembly of biſhops, who without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought neceſ-

2. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.* Mariana, ubi ſup. Ferreras, *Hiſt. de Eſpana.*

ſary,

LETTER XXXIV.

A. D. 1085.

ſary, promoted a prieſt nameđ Bernard to the biſhopric of that city; and pope Urban II. at the king's requeſt, made him primate of Spain. The king and the pope were alſo anxious to eſtabliſh the Roman liturgy and ritual in place of the Gothic, or Muſarabic, hitherto in uſe. The Spaniards contended zealouſly for the ritual of their anceſtors: the pope urged them to receive that to which he had given his infallible ſanction: a violent ſquabble aroſe; and to the diſgrace of human reaſon, a religious opinion was referred to the deciſion of the ſword. Two knights accordingly entered the liſts in complete armour. The Muſarabic champion was victorious; but the king and the archbiſhop had influence enough to get a new trial appointed, though contrary to all the laws of combat. The next appeal was to God by fire. A fire being prepared for that purpoſe, a copy of each liturgy was caſt into the flames. The fire, moſt likely, reſpected neither; but authority prevailed. The Roman liturgy was ordered to be received; yet ſome churches were permitted to retain the Muſarabic [3].

ALPHONSO, either from policy or inclination, augmented the dominions which he had acquired through the valour of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, daughter of Abenhabet, the Mahometan king of Seville, with whom he received ſeveral towns in dowry: and he is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited the Miramolin of Africa into Spain. But be that as it may, the Miramolin came; and, inſtead of aſſiſting, as was expected, the king of Seville, in reducing the petty Mooriſh princes, he turned his arms againſt Abenhabet; took the city

3. Id. ibid.

PART I. A.D. 1097. of Seville, and became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonſo 4.

In the mean time the Cid, at the head of his army of knights, ſubdued the kingdom of Valentia. Few kings in Spain were, at that time, ſo powerful as he; yet he never aſſumed the regal title, but continued faithful to his maſter Alphonſo. He governed Valentia, however, with all the authority of a ſovereign, receiving ambaſſadors, and being treated with the higheſt reſpect by all nations. After his death, which happened in 1096, the kings of Caſtile and Arragon continued their wars againſt the Infidels; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more deſolated.

Alphonso, ſurnamed the Battle-giver, king of Navarre and Arragon, took Saragoſſa from the Moors; and that city, which afterwards became the A.D. 1118. capital of the kingdom of Arragon, never again returned under the dominion of the Infidels. He was continually at war either with the Chriſtians or Mahometans; and the latter gained a complete victory over him, which mortified him ſo much, that he died A.D. 1134. of chagrin, leaving his kingdom by will to the Knights Templars. This was bequeathing a civil war as his laſt legacy. The teſtament was eſteemed valid; but fortunately theſe knights were not in a condition to enforce it: and the ſtates of Arragon choſe for their king Garcias Remiero, brother to the deceaſed monarch. He had led a monaſtic life for upwards of forty years, and proved incapable of governing. The people of Navarre therefore choſe another king, deſcended from their ancient monarchs; and, by this

4. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.*

diviſion,

diviſion, both theſe ſtates became a prey to the Moors. They were ſaved by the timely aſſiſtance of Alphonſo VII. king of Caſtile; who had obtained many victories over the Infidels, and in return for his protection received the city of Saragoſſa from the Arragoneſe, and the homage of the king of Navarre. This ſucceſs ſo much elated Alphonſo, that he aſſumed the title of Emperor of Spain[5]. A.D. 1134.

ALPHONSO Henriquez, count of Portugal, received about this time the title of king from his ſoldiers, after a victory obtained over the Moors; and he took Liſbon from them by the aſſiſtance of the cruſaders, as has been already mentioned. On this occaſion pope Alexander III. ſteady to the policy of his predeceſſors, took advantage of the papal maxim, That all countries conquered from the Infidels belong to the Holy See, to aſſert his ſuperiority over Portugal; and Alphonſo politically allowed him an annual tribute of two marks of gold, on receiving a bull from Rome confirming his regal dignity, and his infallible right to that territory[6]. A.D. 1147. A.D. 1179.

A VERY few efforts would now have been ſufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of Spain; but for that purpoſe it was neceſſary that the Spaniſh Chriſtians ſhould be united among themſelves, whereas they were unhappily engaged in perpetual wars with one another. They united however at length, from a ſenſe of common danger, and alſo implored the aſſiſtance of the other Chriſtian princes of Europe. A.D. 1211.

5. Id. ibid. 6. Neufville, *Hiſt. Gen. de Port.*

PART I. A.D. 1211. MAHOMET Ben Joſeph, Miramolin of Africa, having croſſed the ſea with an army of near one hundred thouſand men, and being joined by the Moors in Andaluſia, aſſured himſelf of making an entire conqueſt of Spain. The rumour of this great armament rouſed the attention of the whole European continent. Many adventurers came from all quarters. To theſe the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their forces: the kingdom of Portugal alſo furniſhed a body of troops; and the Chriſtian and Mahometan A.D. 1212. armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, on the borders of Andaluſia, and in the province of Toledo. Alphonſo the Noble, king of Caſtile, commanded the centre of the Chriſtian army: the archbiſhop of Toledo carried the croſs before him. The Miramolin occupied the ſame place in the Mooriſh army: he was dreſſed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a ſabre in the other. The battle was long and obſtinately diſputed, but at length the Chriſtians prevailed[7]: and the ſixteenth of July, the day on which the victory was gained, is ſtill celebrated in Toledo.

THE conſequences of this victory, however, were not ſo great as might have been expected. The Moors of Andaluſia were ſtrengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Chriſtians was immediately diſperſed. Almoſt all the knights, who had been preſent at the battle, returned to their reſpective homes as ſoon as it was over. But although the Chriſtians ſeemed thus to neglect their true intereſt, by allowing the Mahometans time to recruit themſelves, the Moors employed that time more to their own hurt than the Chriſtians could, if united againſt them. All the Mooriſh ſtates, both in Spain and Africa, were

7. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hiſp.*

rent

rent in pieces by civil diſſenſions, and a variety of new ſoyereignties ſprung up, which entirely broke the power of the Infidels.

THE period ſeemed therefore arrived, to uſe the language of that haughty and ſuperſtitious nation, marked out by Heaven for the glory of Spain, and the expulſion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. ſtyled by his countrymen St. Ferdinand, took from the Infidels the famous city of Cordova, the reſidence of the firſt A.D. 1236.
Mooriſh kings; and James I. of Arragon diſpoſſeſſed them of the iſland of Majorca, and drove them out A.D. 1238.
of the fine kingdom of Valentia. St. Ferdinand alſo ſubdued the province of Murcia, and made himſelf maſter of Seville, the moſt opulent city belonging to A.D. 1248.
the Moors[8]. Death at length put an end to his con- A.D. 1252.
queſts: and if divine honours are due to thoſe, who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain juſtly reverences the name of Ferdinand III.

ALPHONSO, ſurnamed the Aſtronomer, or the Wiſe, the ſon of St. Ferdinand, likewiſe exalted the glory of Spain; but in a manner very different from that of his father. This prince, who rivalled the Arabians in the ſciences, digeſted the celebrated Spaniſh code, called *Las Partidas*; and under his inſpection thoſe aſtronomical tables were drawn up, which ſtill bear his name, and do honour to his memory. In his old age he ſaw his ſon Sancho rebel againſt him, and was reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of leaguing with the Moors againſt his own blood, and his re- A.D. 1283.
bellious Chriſtian ſubjects. This was not the firſt alliance which Chriſtians had entered into with Mahometans, againſt Chriſtians; but it was certainly the moſt juſt.

8. Id. ibid.

PART I.

A. D. 1283

ALPHONSO invited to his aſſiſtance the Miramolin of Africa, who immediately croſſed the ſea; and the two monarchs met at Zara, on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and ſpeech of the Miramolin, on this occaſion, deſerves to be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. He gave the place of honour to Alphonſo at meeting: "I treat you thus," ſaid he, "becauſe "you are unfortunate; and enter into alliance with "you, merely to revenge the common cauſe of all "kings and all fathers [9]."

THE rebels were overcome; but the good old king died before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his victory: and the Miramolin being obliged to return to Africa, the unnatural Sancho ſucceeded to the crown in prejudice to the offſpring of a former marriage. He even reigned happily; and his ſon Ferdinand IV.

A. D. 1303. took Gibraltar from the Moors [10].

THIS Ferdinand is called by the Spaniſh hiſtorians the Summoned: and the reaſon they aſſign for it is ſomewhat remarkable. Having ordered two noblemen, in a fit of anger, to be thrown from the top of a rock, thoſe noblemen, before they were puſhed off, ſummoned him to appear in the preſence of God within a month, at the end of which he died [11]. It is to be wiſhed, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, that this ſtory were true; or at leaſt believed to be ſo, by all princes who think they have a right to follow their own imperious wills at the expence of the lives of their fellow-creatures.

THESE are the circumſtances moſt worthy of notice in the hiſtory of Spain during the period here

9. Ferreras et Mariana, ubi ſupra.
10. Ibid.
11. Ferreras, *Hiſt. Eſpane.*

ex-

examined. We muſt now take a view of the progreſs of Society. LETTER XXXIV.

LETTER XXXV.

The Progreſs of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE *during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen letters begin to revive, and manners to ſoften, about the middle of the eleventh century. But the progreſs of refinement was ſlow during the two ſucceeding centuries, and often altogether obſtructed by monaſtic auſterities, theological diſputes, eccleſiaſtical broils, and the diſorders of the feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances, before the cloſe of this period. Theſe I ſhall endeavour diſtinctly to trace. LETTER XXXV.

THE influence of the ſpirit of Chivalry on manners, as we have ſeen, was great and ſingular: it enlarged the generoſities of the human heart, and ſoothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with ſuperſtition, it became itſelf the means of violence; armed one half of the ſpecies againſt the other, and precipitated Europe upon Aſia. I allude to the Cruſades. Yet theſe romantic expeditions, though barbarous and deſtructive in themſelves, were followed by many important conſequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. All adventurers who aſſumed the croſs being taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heavieſt anathemas denounced againſt ſuch as ſhould moleſt their perſons or their property, private hoſ-

PART I. hoſtilities were for a time ſuſpended or extinguiſhed: the feudal ſovereigns became more powerful, and their vaſſals leſs turbulent; a more ſteady adminiſtration of juſtice was introduced, and ſome advances were made towards regular government.

THE commercial effects of the cruſades were no leſs conſiderable than their political influence. Many ſhips were neceſſary to tranſport the prodigious armies which Europe poured forth, and alſo to ſupply them with proviſions. Theſe ſhips were principally furniſhed by the Venetians, the Piſans, and the Genoeſe; who acquired, by that ſervice, immenſe ſums of money, and opened to themſelves, at the ſame time, a new ſource of wealth, by importing into Europe the commodities of Aſia. A taſte for theſe commodities became general. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extenſive privileges. Some of them erected themſelves into ſovereignties, others into corporations or independent communities[1]; and the eſtabliſhment of thoſe communities may be conſidered as the firſt great ſtep towards civilization in Modern Europe.

THIS ſubject requires your particular attention. The feudal government, as I have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, had degenerated into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The nobles had reduced the great body of the people to a ſtate of actual ſervitude, and the condition of thoſe denominated free was little, if at all, more deſirable. Not only the inhabitants of the country, but even whole cities and villages held of ſome great lord, on whom they depended for protection; and the citizens were no leſs ſubject to his arbitrary juriſdiction, than thoſe employed in cultivating the

1. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* vol. ii.

eſtates

eſtates of their maſters. Services of various kinds, equally diſgraceful and oppreſſive, were exacted from them, without mercy or conſideration: and they were deprived of the moſt natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not diſpoſe of their effects by will; appoint guardians to their children, or even marry without the conſent of their ſuperior lord [a].

MEN in ſuch a condition had few motives to induſtry. Accordingly we find all the cities of Europe, before their enfranchiſement, equally poor and wretched. But no ſooner were they formed into bodies politic, governed by magiſtrates choſen from among their own members, than the ſpirit of induſtry revived, and commerce began to flouriſh. Population increaſed with independency; the conveniencies of life, with the means of procuring them: property gave birth to ſtatutes and regulations; a ſenſe of common intereſt enforced them; and the more frequent occaſions of intercourſe among men, and between kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement in manners, and tended to wear off thoſe national and local prejudices which create diſſenſion and animoſity between the inhabitants of different ſtates and provinces.

THE manner in which theſe immunities were obtained, was different in the different kingdoms of Europe. Some of the Italian cities, as we have ſeen, acquired their freedom by arms, others by money; and in France and Germany, many of the great barons were glad to ſell charters of liberty to the towns within their juriſdiction, in order to repair the expence incurred by the cruſades. The ſovereigns alſo

a. *Ordon. des Rois de France*, tom. i. iii. Dach. Spiceleg. tom. xi. Murat. *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. iv.

PART I. granted, or ſold, [illegible] the towns within the royal domain, in order to create ſome power that might counterbalance their potent vaſſals, who often gave law to the crown[3]. The practice quickly ſpread over Europe; and before the end of the thirteenth century, its beneficial effects were generally felt.

THESE effects were no leſs extenſive upon government than upon manners. Self-preſervation had obliged every man, during ſeveral centuries, to court the patronage of ſome powerful baron, whoſe caſtle was the common aſylum in times of danger; but towns ſurrounded with walls, and filled with citizens trained to arms, bound by intereſt as well as the moſt ſolemn engagements to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and ſecure retreat. The nobles became of leſs importance, when they ceaſed to be the ſole guardians of the people; and the crown acquired an increaſe of power and conſequence, when it no longer depended entirely upon its great vaſſals for the ſupply of its armies. The cities contributed liberally towards the ſupport of the royal authority, as they regarded the ſovereigns as the authors of their liberty, and their protectors againſt the domineering ſpirit of the nobles. Hence another conſequence of corporation-charters.

THE inhabitants of cities having obtained perſonal freedom and municipal juriſdiction, ſoon aſpired at civil liberty and political power. And the ſovereigns, in moſt kingdoms, found it neceſſary to admit them to a ſhare in the legiſlature, on account of their utility in raiſing the ſupplies for government; it being a fundamental principle in the feudal policy, that no free man could be taxed but with his own conſent.

3. Du Cange, voc. *Communia*.

The

The citizens were now free; and the wealth, the power, and the conſequence which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim to political eminence, and ſeemed to mark them out as an eſſential branch in the conſtitution. They had it much in their power to ſupply the exigencies of the crown, and alſo to repreſs the encroachments of the nobles. In England, Germany, and even in France, where the voice of liberty is heard no more, the repreſentatives of communities accordingly obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century [4].

THUS, my dear Philip, an intermediate power was eſtabliſhed between the king and nobles, to which each had recourſe alternately, and which ſometimes oppoſed the one and ſometimes the other. It tempered the rigour of ariſtocratical oppreſſion with a mixture of popular liberty, at the ſame time that it reſtrained the uſurpations of the crown: it ſecured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no repreſentatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and liberties; and it entirely changed the ſpirit of the laws, by introducing into the ſtatutes, and the juriſprudence of the European nations, ideas of equality, order, and public good.

To this new power that part of the people ſtill in ſervitude, the villains, who reſided in the country, and were employed in agriculture, looked up for freedom. They obtained it, though contrary to the ſpirit of the feudal polity. The odious names of maſter

4. M. l'Abbé Mably, *Obſervat. ſur l'Hiſt. de France*, tom. ii. Henault, tom. i. Pfeffel, *Abregé de Hiſt. et Droit d'Allemagne.* Brady, *Treatiſe of Boroughs.* Madox, *Firma Burgi.*

PART I. and ſlave were aboliſhed. The huſbandman became farmer of the ſame fields which he had formerly been compelled to cultivate for the benefit of another. He reaped a ſhare of the fruits of his own induſtry. New proſpects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprize. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous claſs of men, who formerly had no political exiſtence, were reſtored to ſociety, and augmented the force and riches of the ſtate.

THE ſecond great advance which ſociety made during the period under review, was an approach towards a more regular adminiſtration of juſtice. The barbarous nations who over-ran the Roman empire, and ſettled in its provinces, rejected the Roman juriſprudence, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, with the ſame contempt that they ſpurned the Roman arts. Both reſpected objects of which they had no conception, and were adapted to a ſtate of ſociety with which they were then unacquainted. But as civilization advanced, they became ſenſible of the imperfection of their own inſtitutions, and even of their abſurdity. The trial by ordeal and by duel was aboliſhed in moſt countries before the end of the thirteenth century, and various attempts were made to reſtrain the practice of private war; one of the greateſt abuſes in the feudal polity, and which ſtruck at the foundation of all government.

As the authority of the civil magiſtrate was found ineffectual to remedy this evil, the church interpoſed; and various regulations were publiſhed, in order to ſet bounds to private hoſtilities. But theſe all proving inſufficient, ſupernatural means were employed: a letter was ſent from heaven to a biſhop of Aquitaine, enjoining

LETTER XXXV.

joining men to ceaſe from violence, and be reconciled to each other. This revelation was publiſhed during a ſeaſon of public calamity, when men were willing to perform any thing, in order to avert the wrath of an offended God. A general reconciliation took place: and a reſolution was formed, That no man ſhould, in times to come, attack or moleſt his adverſaries during the ſeaſons ſet apart for celebrating the great feſtivals of the church, or from the evening of Thurſday in each week, to the morning of Monday in the week enſuing; the intervening days being conſidered as particularly holy, Chriſt's paſſion having happened on one of thoſe days, and his reſurrection on another. This ceſſation from hoſtilities was called "The Truce of God;" and three complete days, in every week, allowed ſuch a conſiderable ſpace for the paſſions of the antagoniſts to cool, and for the people to enjoy a reſpite from the calamities of war, as well as to take meaſures for their own ſecurity, that if the Truce of God had been exactly obſerved, it muſt have gone far towards putting an end to private wars. That however was not the caſe; the nobles proſecuted their quarrels as formerly, till towards the end of the twelfth century, when a carpenter of Guienne gave out, that Jeſus Chriſt, together with the Bleſſed Virgin, had appeared to him, and having commanded him to exhort mankind to peace, had given him, as a proof of his miſſion, an image of the Virgin holding her ſon in her arms, with this inſcription: "Lamb of God, who takeſt away the "ſins of the world, give us peace!" This low fanatic was received as an inſpired meſſenger of Heaven. Many prelates and barons aſſembled at Puy, and took an oath, not only to make peace with all their own enemies, but to attack ſuch as refuſed to lay down their arms, and to be reconciled to their enemies. They formed an aſſociation for that purpoſe, and aſ-

ſumed

PART I. ſumed the honourable name of "The Brotherhood "of God." Like aſſociations were formed in other countries; and theſe, together with civil prohibitions, enforced by royal power, contributed to remove this pernicious evil 5.

WHEN ſociety was thus emerging from barbariſm, and men were become ſenſible of the neceſſity of order, a copy of Juſtinian's Pandects was diſcovered at Amalphi, in Italy; and although the age had ſtill too little taſte to reliſh the beauty of the Roman claſſics, it immediately perceived the merit of a ſyſtem of laws, in which all the points moſt intereſting to mankind, were ſettled with preciſion, diſcernment, and equity. All men of letters were ſtruck with admiration at the wiſdom of the ancients: the Juſtinian code was ſtudied with eagerneſs; and profeſſors of civil law were appointed, who taught this new ſcience in moſt countries of Europe.

THE effects of ſtudying and imitating ſo perfect a model, were, as might be expected, great. Fixed and general laws were eſtabliſhed; the principles and the forms by which judges ſhould regulate their deciſions were aſcertained; the feudal law was reduced into a regular ſyſtem; the canon law was methodiſed; the looſe uncertain cuſtoms of different provinces or kingdoms were collected and arranged with order and accuracy. And theſe improvements in the ſyſtem of juriſprudence had an extenſive influence upon ſociety. They gave riſe to a diſtinction of profeſſions.

AMONG rude nations no profeſſion is honourable but that of arms; and, as the functions of peace are

5. Du Cange, *Gloſſ.* voc. Treuga. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. Robertſon's Introd. *Hiſt. Charles V.* ſect. i. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, Append. i.

few

few and ſimple, war is the only ſtudy. Such had been the ſtate of Europe during ſeveral centuries. But when law became a ſcience, the knowledge of which required a regular courſe of ſtudies, together with long attention to the practice of courts, a new order of men naturally acquired conſideration and influence in ſociety. Another profeſſion beſide that of arms was introduced, and reputed honourable among the laity: the talents requiſite for diſcharging it were cultivated; the arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank; and the people of Europe became accuſtomed to ſee men riſe to eminence by civil, as well as military employments [6]. LETTER XXXV.

THE ſtudy of the Roman law had alſo a conſiderable influence upon letters. The knowledge of a variety of ſciences became neceſſary, in order to expound with judgment the civil code; and the ſame paſſion which made men proſecute the juridical ſcience with ſo much ardour, made them anxious to excel in every branch of literature. Colleges and univerſities were founded, a regular courſe of ſtudies was planned, and a regular ſet of profeſſors eſtabliſhed. Privileges of great value were conferred upon maſters and ſcholars; academical titles and honours were invented, as rewards for the different degrees of literary eminence; and an incredible number of ſtudents, allured by theſe advantages, reſorted to the new ſeats of learning [7].

BUT a falſe taſte unhappily infected all thoſe ſeminaries, which is thus ingeniouſly accounted for by a learned and inquiſitive writer:—Moſt of the perſons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and

6. Monteſquieu, *l' Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxviii. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, chap. xxiii. Robertſon, *Introd. Hiſt. Charles V.* ſect. i.
7. Id. Ibid.

PART I. thirteenth centuries had received inſtruction, and derived their principles of ſcience, from the Greeks in the Eaſtern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both thoſe people, acute and inquiſitive to exceſs, corrupted the ſciences which they cultivated. The Greeks rendered theology a ſyſtem of ſpeculative refinement, or endleſs controverſy; and the Arabs communicated to philoſophy a ſpirit of metaphyſical and frivolous ſubtlety. Miſled by theſe guides, the perſons who firſt applied to ſcience were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Inſtead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and produce ſuch works of elegant invention as might have improved the taſte, and refined the ſentiments of the age; inſtead of cultivating thoſe arts which embelliſh human life, and render it delightful, they ſpent the whole force of their genius in ſpeculations as unavailing as they were difficult[8].

But fruitleſs and ill-directed as theſe ſpeculations were, their novelty rouſed, and their boldneſs engaged the human mind; and although ſcience was further circumſcribed in its influence, and prevented during ſeveral ages from diffuſing itſelf through ſociety, by being delivered in the Latin tongue, its progreſs deſerves to be mentioned, as one of the great cauſes, which contributed to introduce a change of manners into Modern Europe. That ardent, though miſtaken ſpirit of inquiry which prevailed, put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as intereſting; it accuſtomed them to exerciſes and occupations, that tended to ſoften their manners, and to give them

8, Robertſon, ubi ſup.

ſome

relish for thoſe gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom ſcience has been ſucceſsfully cultivated. LETTER XXXV.

SOME ages indeed elapſed before taſte, order, and politeneſs were reſtored to ſociety: but anarchy and barbariſm gradually diſappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes; and public and private happineſs were daily better underſtood; till Europe (wiſely governed) came to enjoy all thoſe advantages, pleaſures, amuſements, and tender ſympathies, which are neceſſary to alleviate the pains inſeparable from exiſtence, and ſoothe ſorrows allied to humanity.

LETTER XXXVI.

ENGLAND during the Reign of EDWARD I. *with an Introduction to the Hiſtory of* SCOTLAND; *ſome Account of the Conqueſt of that Country by the* ENGLISH, *and the final Reduction of* WALES.

THE reign of Edward I. my dear Philip, as already obſerved, forms a new æra in the hiſtory of Britain. I muſt now make you ſenſible what entitles it to that diſtinction. LETTER XXXVI.

As ſoon as Edward returned to England, (where his authority was firmly eſtabliſhed, by his high character both at home and abroad) he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the correcting of thoſe diſorders, which the civil commotions, and the looſe adminiſtration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. His policy, though ſevere, was equally liberal and prudent. By an exact diſtribution of juſ- A.D. 1274.

PART. I. tice, and a rigid execution of the laws, to give at once protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, and diminiſhed the arbitrary power of the nobles. He made it a rule in his own conduct to obſerve, except upon extraordinary occaſions, the privileges ſecured to the barons by the Great Charter, and he inſiſted on their obſervance of the ſame charter towards their vaſſals: he made the crown be regarded as the grand fountain of juſtice, and the general aſylum againſt violence and oppreſſion. By theſe wiſe meaſures, the ſtate of the kingdom was ſoon wholly changed; order and tranquillity were reſtored to ſociety, and vigour to government [1].

Now it was, that the enterpriſing ſpirit of Edward began more remarkably to ſhew itſelf. He undertook
A.D. 1276. an expedition againſt Lewellyn prince of Wales, who had formerly joined the rebellious barons, and whoſe two brothers, David and Roderic, had fled to Edward for protection; craving his aſſiſtance to recover their poſſeſſions, and ſeconding his attempts to enſlave their native country.

THE Welch prince had no reſource againſt the ſuperior force of Edward but the inacceſſible ſituation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers againſt all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the braveſt of his ſubjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no leſs vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welch army in its laſt retreat. Having carefully ſecured every paſs behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He truſted to the more ſlow but ſure effects

1. M. Weſt. T. Walſingham.

of

obliged to ſubmit, and receive the terms impoſed upon him by the Engliſh monarch [2]. LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1277.

THESE terms, though ſufficiently ſevere, were but ill obſerved by the victors. The Engliſh oppreſſed and inſulted the inhabitants of the diſtricts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welch was rouſed: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not diſpleaſed with the occaſion of making his conqueſt final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himſelf waited the event in the caſtle of Rudhlan; and Lewellyn, having ventured to leave his faſtneſſes, was defeated by Mortimer, and ſlain, together with two thouſand of his followers. All the Welch nobility ſubmitted to Edward, and the laws of England were eſtabliſhed in that principality [3]. A.D. 1283.

IN order to preſerve his conqueſt, Edward had recourſe to a barbarous policy. He ordered David, brother to Lewellyn, and his ſucceſſor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor; for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deſerted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He alſo ordered all the Welch bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no abſurd one, that he ſhould more eaſily ſubdue the independent ſpirit of the people, when their minds ceaſed to be rouſed by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preſerved in the traditional poems of theſe minſtrels, and recited or ſung by them on all public occaſions and days of feſtivity [4]. A.D. 1284.

2. T. Wykes. 3. T. Walſingham. T. Wykes. *Annal. Waverl.* Powell, *Hiſt. Wales.* 4. Sir J. Wynne.

PART I. A.D. 1284.

EDWARD's conduct, in regard to Scotland, at which his ambition now pointed, is little more excuſable. But ſeveral things muſt be premiſed, my dear Philip, before I proceed to his tranſactions with that country.

ON the final departure of the Romans from this iſland, you have ſeen the Scots and Picts, its northern inhabitants, ravaging South Britain. They were repelled, but not ſubdued by the Saxons; and the firſt Norman princes were too much occupied with the affairs of the continent to puſh their conqueſts beyond the Tweed. Meanwhile fierce and bloody wars were, during ſeveral ages, carried on between the Scots and Picts; and Kenneth II. the ſixty-ninth Scottiſh king, according to tradition, had obtained, in 838, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at preſent known by the name of North Britain. The Scots now became more formidable; and having leſs buſineſs on their hands at home, were always ready to join the Engliſh malcontents, and made frequent incurſions into the bordering counties. In one of theſe incurſions, as I have had occaſion to notice, William king of Scotland was taken priſoner; and Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ranſom, and a promiſe to ſurrender the places of greateſt ſtrength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous, but leſs politic prince than his father, ſolemnly renounced this claim of homage, and abſolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had impoſed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumſtance which has occaſioned

canonists, many miſtakes, and much diſpute among hiſtorians, in the ſame manner as the king of England himſelf ſwore fealty to the French monarch, for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, Edward I. availing himſelf of the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of ſovereignty which had been renounced by Richard [5]. LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1286

THIS is the real ſtate of the controverſy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its riſe about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male iſſue, nor any deſcendant except Margaret of Norway, his grand-daughter, who did not long ſurvive him, the right of ſucceſſion belonged to the deſcendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third ſon of king David I. Of that line, two illuſtrious competitors for the crown appeared: Robert Bruce, ſon of Iſabel, earl David's ſecond daughter; and John Baliol, grandſon of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter. According to the rules of ſucceſſion now eſtabliſhed, Baliol's right was preferable: he would ſucceed as the repreſentative of his mother and grandmother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common ſtock, would be diſregarded. But in that age the queſtion appeared no leſs intricate than important: the ſentiments of men were divided: each claim was ſupported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared, muſt terminate a diſpute too weighty for the laws to decide.

IN this critical ſituation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miſeries of civil war, embraced the dangerous reſolution of appealing to Edward I.

5. Buchanan, *Hiſt. Scot.* lib. viii. Robertſon, book i.

PART I. A. D. 1286. He was accordingly choſen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterpriſing prince, already maſter of Wales, reſolved more determinedly to make himſelf lord of the whole iſland of Britain, by reviving his obſcure claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scot-
A. D. 1291. tiſh barons to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, a place ſituated on the ſouthern bank of the Tweed; and having gained ſome, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the ſucceſſion, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the Engliſh crown, and ſwear fealty to him as their ſovereign or liege lord [6].

THIS ſtep led to another ſtill more important. As it was in vain to pronounce a ſentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded poſſeſſion of the diſputed kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whoſe right ſhould be found preferable: and that exorbitant demand was complied with both by the barons and the claimants. He ſoon after
A. D. 1292. gave judgment in favour of Baliol, as being the leaſt formidable of the competitors, we are told, by a reſpectable hiſtorian [7]; but in juſtice to Edward, I am bound to ſay, that his award, which was no leſs equitable than ſolemn, ſeemed to proceed merely from the ſtate of the queſtion. He not only referred it to the conſideration of an hundred and forty commiſſioners, partly Engliſh and partly Scotch, but propoſed it to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe, who returned an uniform anſwer conformable to the king's

6. Rymer. vol. ii. W. Heming. vol. i. 7. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scotland*, book i.

decree,

decree. Baliol renewed the oath of fealty to England, and was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom [8]. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1292.

EDWARD having thus eſtabliſhed his unjuſt claim of feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, aſpired next at the abſolute ſovereignty and dominion of that kingdom. He attempted to provoke Baliol by indignities; to rouſe him to rebellion, and to rob him of his crown, as the puniſhment of his pretended treaſon and felony. The paſſive ſpirit of Baliol accordingly began to mutiny; and he entered into a ſecret alliance with France, which was already engaged in a war with England, the more effectually to maintain his independency. A. D. 1295.

THE expences attending theſe multiplied wars of Edward, and his new preparations for reducing Scotland, obliged him to have frequent recourſe to parliamentary ſupplies, and introduced the lower orders of the ſtate into the public councils. This period therefore, the twenty-third year of his reign, ſeems to be the true era of the Houſe of Commons: for the former precedent of repreſentatives from the boroughs, ſummoned by the earl of Leiceſter, was regarded as the act of a violent uſurpation, and had been diſcontinued in all the ſubſequent parliaments. But when the multiplied neceſſities of the crown produced a greater demand for money, than could be conveniently anſwered by the common mode of taxation, Edward became ſenſible, that the moſt expeditious way of obtaining ſupplies was to aſſemble the deputies of all the boroughs; to lay before them the exigencies of the ſtate; to diſcuſs the matter in their preſence, and to require their conſent to the demands of their ſovereign. He therefore iſſued writs to the ſheriffs,

8. Rymer, vol. ii. W. Heming, vol. i.

enjoining

PART I. A. D. 1295.

enjoining them to ſend to parliament, along with the two knights of the ſhire, two deputies from every borough within their county, provided with full powers from their community, to conſent to what levies ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the ſupport of government. "As it is a moſt equitable rule," ſays he, in his preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all ſhould be "approved of by all; and common dangers be re-"pelled by united efforts[9]." Such a way of thinking implies a generoſity of mind much ſuperior to what might be expected from Edward's general conduct.

THE aldermen and common-council, after the election of theſe deputies, gave ſurety for their attendance before the king and parliament; and their charges were borne by the borough that ſent them[10]. How different in that, as well as in other reſpects, from our more modern repreſentatives!—Inſtead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him, as the great fountain of juſtice, and to ſupport him againſt the power of the nobles, who at once oppreſſed them, and diſturbed him in the execution of the laws. The king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men ſo uſeful, and ſo little dangerous. The peers alſo were obliged to pay them ſome reſpect, on account of their conſequence as a body. By theſe means the commons, or third eſtate, long ſo abject in England, as well as in all other European nations, roſe gradually to their preſent importance; and, in their progreſs, made arts and commerce, the neceſſary attendants on liberty and equality, flouriſh in Britain.

EDWARD employed the ſupplies granted by his people in warlike preparations againſt his northern

9. Brady, *Treatiſe of Boroughs*, from the Records. *Reliquiæ* Spelm. 10. Id. ibid.

neighbour.

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neighbour. He cited Baliol, as his vaſſal, to appear in an Engliſh parliament, to be held at Newcaſtle. But that prince, having now received pope Celeſtine's diſpenſation from the oath of fealty, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and ſet Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill ſupported by the military operations of the Scots. Edward croſſed the Tweed without oppoſition, at the head of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Berwick was taken by aſſault; the Scottiſh army was totally routed near Dunbar; the whole ſouthern part of the kingdom was ſubdued; and the timid Baliol, diſcontented with his own ſubjects, and over-awed by the Engliſh, inſtead of making uſe of thoſe reſources which were yet left, haſtened to make his ſubmiſſions to the conqueror. He expreſſed the deepeſt penitence for his diſloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a ſolemn and irrevocable renunciation of his crown into the hands of Edward [11].

A. D. 124

THE Engliſh monarch marched as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting a ſingle enemy. No Scotſman approached him, but to pay him ſubmiſſion and do him homage. Even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averſe againſt the reſtraints of law, endeavoured by a timely obedience to prevent the devaſtation of their country: and Edward, flattering himſelf that he had now attained the great object of his wiſhes, in the final reduction of Scotland, left earl Warrenne governor of the kingdom, and returned with his victorious army into England [12].

HERE a few particulars are neceſſary. There was a ſtone, to which the popular ſuperſtition of the Scots

11. Rymer, vol. ii. Heming. vol. i. Trivet. *Annal.*
12. Id. ibid.

paid

PART I. A.D. 1296.

paid the higheſt veneration. All their kings were ſeated on it, when they received the rite of inauguration. Ancient tradition aſſured them, that their nation ſhould always govern where this ſtone was placed; and it was carefully preſerved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarch, and their ultimate reſource under all misfortunes. Edward got poſſeſſion of it, and carried it with him into England. He alſo gave orders to deſtroy all the records, and all thoſe monuments of antiquity, which might preſerve the memory of the independency of the kingdom of Scotland, and refute the Engliſh claims of ſuperiority. The great ſeal of Baliol was broken, and that prince himſelf was carried priſoner to London, and committed to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower [13]. Two years after he was reſtored to liberty, and ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France; where, without making any further attempt for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private ſtation.

EDWARD was not ſo ſucceſsful in an effort which he made for the recovery of Guienne. The French monarch, Philip IV. ſurnamed the Fair, had robbed England of this province, by an artifice ſimilar to that which Edward had practiſed againſt the Scots. He had cited the Engliſh monarch, as his vaſſal, to anſwer, in the court of peers, the charge of treaſon againſt his ſovereign; for having permitted his ſubjects to ſeize ſome Norman veſſels, and denied ſatisfaction: and Edward refuſing to comply, was declared guilty of treaſon, and the duchy of Guienne confiſcated. An Engliſh army was ſent over to recover it under the earl of Lancaſter, who died in a ſhort time; and the earl of Lincoln, who ſucceeded him in the command, failed in the attempt. But the active and ambitious ſpirit of Edward could not reſt

13. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

ſatisfied

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ſatisfied ſo long as the ancient patrimony of his family remained in the hands of his rival. He therefore entered into an alliance with the earls of Holland and Flanders[14]; and hoped, that, when he ſhould enter the frontiers of France at the head of his Engliſh, Flemiſh, and Dutch armies, the French king would purchaſe peace by the reſtitution of Guienne. A.D. 124

BUT in order to ſet this vaſt machine in motion, conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary from parliament; and theſe Edward readily obtained both from the lords and commons. He was not ſo fortunate in his impoſitions on the clergy, whom he always hated, and from whom he demanded a fifth of all their moveables, as a puniſhment for their adherence to the Mountfort faction. They urged the pope's bull in oppoſition to all ſuch demands; and Edward, inſtead of applying to Boniface VIII. then pontiff, for a relaxation of his mandate, boldly told the eccleſiaſtics, That ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws.

THIS vigorous meaſure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were iſſued to the judges to receive no cauſe brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants; to do every one juſtice againſt them, but to do them juſtice againſt nobody. The eccleſiaſtics ſoon found themſelves in the moſt miſerable ſituation imaginable. They could not remain always in their own houſes or convents for want of ſubſiſtence: if they went abroad in queſt of neceſſaries, they were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian, and no redreſs

14 Rymer, vol. ii. Heming. vol. i.

PART I. A. D. 1296. could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The ſpirit of the clergy was at laſt broken by this harſh treatment. They all either publicly or privately complied with the king's demands, and received the protection of the laws [15]. Not one eccleſiaſtic, as the ſagacious Hume remarks, ſeemed willing to ſuffer, for the ſake of religious privileges, this new ſpecies of martyrdom, the moſt tedious and languiſhing of any; the moſt mortifying to ſpiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up with ſuch oſtentation to her faithful ſons.

BUT all theſe ſupplies were not ſufficient for the king's neceſſities. He was obliged to exert his arbitrary power, and lay an oppreſſive hand on every order of men in the kingdom. The people murmured, and the barons mutinied, notwithſtanding their great perA. D. 1297. ſonal regard for Edward. He was obliged to make conceſſions; to promiſe all his ſubjects a compenſation for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and to confirm the Great Charter, with an additional clauſe, in order to ſecure the nation for ever againſt all impoſitions and taxes without conſent of parliament [16]. Theſe conceſſions, my dear Philip, our anceſtors had the honour of extorting, by their boldneſs and perſeverance, from the ableſt, the moſt warlike, and the moſt ambitious monarch that ever ſat upon the throne of England. The validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally diſputed.

SUCH a number of domeſtic diſcontents obſtructed the king's embarkation for Flanders; ſo that he loſt the proper ſeaſon for action, and after his arrival made no great progreſs againſt the enemy. The French monarch, however, propoſed a ceſſation of arms;

15. W. Heming. vol. i. *Chron. Dunſt.* vol. ii. 16. T. Walſingham. W. Hemingford.

and

and peace was soon after brought about by the mediation of the Pope, in consequence of which Guienne was restored to England. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1291.

In the mean time the Scots rebelled. Earl Warrenne having returned to England, on account of his ill state of health, had left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormsby and Cressingham, the officers next in rank; who, instead of acting with that prudence and moderation necessary to reconcile the Scottish nation to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance, exasperated every man of spirit by the rigour and severity of their government. Among these William Wallace, whose heroic exploits are worthy of just panegyric, but to whom the fond admiration of the Scots has ascribed many fabulous acts of prowess, undertook and accomplished the desperate project of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself on that account obnoxious to the conquerors, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all whom the oppressions of the English governors had reduced to the like necessity. He was of a gigantic stature, and endowed with wonderful strength of body; with invincible fortitude of mind; with disinterested magnanimity; with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons: so that he soon acquired, among his desperate associates, that authority to which his virtues so eminently entitled him. Every day brought accounts of his gallant actions, which were received with no less favour by his countrymen, than terror by the enemy. All men who thirsted after military fame were desirous to partake of his renown; his successful valour

PART I. A. D. 1297.

ſeemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy under which it had fallen by its tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh; and although no nobleman of note ventured yet to join the party of Wallace, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune alone are not able to confer.

So many fortunate enterprizes brought the valour of the Scottiſh chieftain's followers to correſpond with his own: and he determined to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt the Engliſh government. Ormſby appriſed of this intention fled haſtily into England; and all the other officers of his nation imitated his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who betook themſelves to arms in every quarter. Many of the principal barons openly countenanced Wallace's party: and the nation, ſhaking off its fetters, prepared to defend, by one united effort, that liberty which it had ſo unexpectedly recovered from the hands of its oppreſſors.

MEANWHILE Warrenne having collected an army of forty thouſand men in the North of England, in order to re-eſtabliſh his authority, ſuddenly entered Annandale, before the Scots had united their forces, or put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and many of the nobles alarmed at the danger of their ſituation, renewed their oaths of fealty, and received a pardon for paſt offences. But Wallace, ſtill undaunted, continued obſtinate in his purpoſe. As he found himſelf unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the ſituation of that

Sept. 11. mountainous and barren country. Warrenne attacked him in his camp near Stirling, on the banks of the Forth, where the Engliſh army was totally routed.

Creſſingham,

Creſſingham, whoſe impatience urged this attack, was ſlain; Warrenne was obliged to retire into England, and the principal fortreſſes in Scotland ſurrendered to the conqueror [17]. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1297

WALLACE was now univerſally revered as the deliverer of his country, and received from his followers the title of Regent or guardian of the kingdom, a dignity which he well deſerved. Not ſatisfied with expelling the enemy, he urged his army to march into England, and revenge all paſt injuries, by retaliating on that hoſtile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing poſſible with ſuch a leader, joyfully attended his call. They broke into the northern counties during the winter ſeaſon, laying every thing waſte before them; and after extending their ravages on all ſides, as far as the biſhopric of Durham, returned into their own country loaded with ſpoils, and crowned with glory, under the victorious Wallace [18].

EDWARD was in Flanders, when he received intelligence of theſe events; and having already concluded a peace with France, he haſtened over to England, in aſſured hopes, not only of wiping off every diſgrace, but of recovering the important conqueſt of Scotland, which he had always conſidered as the chief glory of his reign. With this view he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and, with an army of one hundred thouſand combatants, entered the devoted kingdom. Scotland was never at any time able to withſtand ſuch a force. At preſent it was without a head, and torne by inteſtine jealouſies. The elevation of Wallace was the object of envy to the nobility, who repined to ſee a private man raiſed above them by his rank, and ſtill A. D. 1298.

17. W. Heming. T. Walſingham. 18. W. Heming, vol. i.

PART I. more by his reputation. Senſible of theſe evils,
A. D. 1298. Wallace reſigned his authority; and the chief command devolved upon men more eminent by birth, though leſs diſtinguiſhed by abilities, but under whom the nobles were more willing to ſerve in defence of their country. They fixed their ſtation at Falkirk,
July 22. where Edward came up with them, and the whole Scottiſh army was broken, and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter [19].

THE ſubjection of Scotland however was not yet accompliſhed. The Engliſh army, after reducing all
A. D. 1299. the ſouthern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of proviſions; and the Scots, no leſs enraged at their preſent defeat, than elevated by their paſt victories, ſtill maintained the conteſt for liberty. They were again victorious, and again ſubdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amidſt the univerſal ſlavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the Engliſh by his friend Sir John Monteith: and Edward, whoſe natural bravery and magnanimity ſhould have led him to reſpect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illuſtrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made ſubmiſſion or ſworn fealty to England, and to be executed on
A. D. 1305. Tower-hill [20]. He could not think his favourite conqueſt ſecure, whilſt Wallace was alive. Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with ſignal valour and perſeverance, the liberties of his native country.

BUT the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpoſe to which it was directed. The cruelty and

19. T. Walſingham, T. Wykes, W. Heming. 20. M. Weſt. Geo. Buchanan.

injuſtice

injuſtice exercited upon Wallace, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit, only roufed more effectually the reſentment of the Scots. All the envy which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was univerſally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government; and a new and more fortunate leader ſoon preſented himſelf, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance. LETTER XXXVI. A.D. 1305.

ROBERT BRUCE, ſon of that Robert, who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had ſucceeded, in conſequence of his father's death, to all his pretenſions; and the death of John Baliol, which happened about the ſame time in France, ſeemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly ſerved in the Engliſh army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, the flame of patriotiſm was ſuddenly conveyed from the breaſt of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagements with Edward, and ſecretly determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of reſcuing from ſlavery his oppreſſed country. The time of deliverance ſeemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader, and without a king, would unanimouſly repair to his ſtandard, and ſeat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aſpiring ſpirit ſaw alone the glory of the enterprize, or regarded the difficulties that muſt attend it as the ſource only of greater glory. The miſeries and oppreſſions which he had beheld his countrymen ſuffer in their unequal conteſt for independency; the repeated defeats and A.D. 1306.

PART I. A.D. 1306.

misfortunes which they had undergone in the ſtruggle, proved but ſo many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them boiling with revenge againſt the haughty victors.

In conſequence of this reſolution, and ſome ſuſpicions that Edward was appriſed of it, Bruce ſuddenly left the Engliſh court, and arrived in a few days at Dumfries in Annandale, the chief ſeat of his family intereſt. There a number of the nobility were happily aſſembled, and among the reſt John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his deſigns, and who had baſely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen were aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Bruce, and yet more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their aſſiſtance, to redeem the Scottiſh name from all the indignities which it had ſo long ſuffered from the tyranny of their imperious maſters. It were better, he ſaid, if Heaven ſhould ſo decree it, to periſh at once like brave men, with ſwords in their hands, than to dread long, and at laſt undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace[21].

The ſpirit with which this diſcourſe was delivered, the bold ſentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, aſſiſted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impreſſion on the minds of the nobles, and rouſed all thoſe principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been ſecretly actuated. They declared their unanimous reſolution to uſe the utmoſt efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to ſecond the courage of Bruce, in aſſerting his and their undoubted rights

21. Ibid.

againſt

againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his meaſures with Edward, oppoſed the general determination, by repreſenting the great power of the Engliſh nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the aſſembly, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, aſked him on his return, if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce: "And "is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left "to conjecture?—I will ſecure him." He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and ſtabbed him to the heart[22]. LETTER XXXVI. A. D. 1306.

THIS deed of Bruce and his aſſociates, my dear Philip, which contains circumſtances juſtly condemned by our preſent manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and juſt policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the creſt of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and as a motto the words employed by their anceſtor, when he executed that violent action: "I will ſecure him!"

THE murder of Cummin affixed the ſeal to the conſpiracy of the Scottiſh nobles. They had now no reſource left, but to ſhake off the yoke of England or periſh in the attempt. The genius of the nation rouſed itſelf from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He ſucceſsfully attacked the diſperſed bodies of the Engliſh; got poſſeſſion of many caſtles; and having made his authority be acknowledged in moſt parts of the kingdom, was ſolemnly crowned at Scone, by the biſhop of St. Andrew's, who had zealouſly

22. W. Heming. M. Weſt. T. Walſingham. G. Buchannan, lib. viii.

PART I. A.D. 1306. embraced his cauſe. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except ſuch as took ſhelter in the fortreſſes ſtill in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to ſubdue.

CONSCIOUS however of his ſuperior power, as well as ſuperior ſkill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagoniſt: he thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He ſent a body of troops into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general, who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into diſorder, and obliged him to take ſhelter in the Weſtern Iſles. Edward himſelf was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceleſs Scots the victims of his ſeverity, when he unexpect-
A.D. 1307. edly ſickened and died at Carliſle; enjoining with his lateſt breath his ſon and ſucceſſor to proſecute the war, and never to deſiſt till he had finally ſubdued the kingdom of Scotland[23]. But that, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, the ſecond Edward was little able to accompliſh.

THE character of Edward I. as a warrior and politician, has already been ſufficiently delineated. I ſhall therefore forbear touching again on thoſe particulars, and conclude this letter with his merit as a legiſlator, which has juſtly obtained him the honourable appellation of the Engliſh Juſtinian. The numerous ſtatutes paſſed during his reign ſettle the chief points of juriſprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke obſerves, truly deſerve the name of eſtabliſhments, becauſe they have been more conſtant, ſtanding, and durable laws, than any made ſince. The regular order maintained in his adminiſtration, alſo gave the Common

23. T. Walſingham. Trivet, *Annal.* 1307.

Law

LETTER XXXVI.

A. D. 1307.

Law an opportunity to refine itſelf; brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to preciſion in their pleadings. He regulated the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace, completed the diviſion of the court of Exchequer into four diſtinct courts, each of which managed its ſeparate branch, without dependence upon any one magiſtrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method of carrying buſineſs from one court to another, the ſeveral courts became rivals and checks on each other, a circumſtance which tended very much to improve the practice of the law in this country [24]. But although Edward took ſo much care that his ſubjects ſhould do juſtice to each other, we cannot aſcribe it to his love of equity; for in all his tranſactions either with them or with his neighbours, he always deſired to have his own hands free:—and his violences upon both were not few.

24. Hale, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Law*.

LETTER XXXVII.

ENGLAND *during the Reign of* EDWARD II. *with an Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND.

A. D. 1307. THE critical ſituation of affairs between England and Scotland at the death of Edward I. makes it neceſſary, my dear Philip, to carry farther the hiſtory of our own iſland, before we return to the tranſactions on the continent.

No prince ever aſcended the Engliſh throne with more advantages than Edward II. He was in the twenty-third year of his age, and univerſally beloved by the people, both on account of the ſweetneſs of his own diſpoſition, and as the ſon and ſucceſſor of their illuſtrious monarch. He was at the head of a great army, ready to ſubject the whole iſland to his ſway; and all men promiſed themſelves tranquility and happineſs under his government. But the firſt act of his reign blaſted all theſe hopes, and ſhewed him totally unqualified for his high ſtation. Inſtead of proſecuting the conqueſt of Scotland, according to the deſire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately diſbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce had, before this time, emerged from his obſcurity, and was become ſufficiently formidable to make more vigorous meaſures neceſſary.

THE next ſtep taken by Edward was no leſs weak and imprudent. He recalled Piers Gaveſton, a youthful favourite, whom the late king had baniſhed the realm, on account of his aſcendancy over this prince; and whom, on his death-bed, he had made him promiſe never more to entertain. Gaveſton was the ſon of a Gaſcon knight of ſome diſtinction, and by his ſhining

LETTER XXXVII.

ſhining accompliſhments had early inſinuated himſelf into the affections of young Edward, whoſe heart was eaſily caught by appearances, and ſtrongly diſpoſed to friendſhip and confidence. He was endowed with the utmoſt elegance of ſhape and perſon; was noted for a fine mien and eaſy carriage; had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all warlike and genteel exerciſes, and was celebrated for thoſe quick ſallies of wit in which his countrymen uſually excel. Little wonder that ſuch a perſon was thought neceſſary to a gay monarch, whoſe foibles he was able to flatter; but a wiſe king will have no public favourite, and ſtill leſs a foreign one. Edward experienced this danger.

A.D. 1307.

GAVESTON no ſooner arrived at court, than he was loaded with benefits, and exalted to the higheſt honours. The king beſtowed upon him the earldom of Cornwal, which had eſcheated to the crown, by the death of prince Edmond, ſon of Richard king of the Romans. He married him to his own niece; and ſeemed to enjoy no pleaſure in his royalty, but as it ſerved to add luſtre to this object of his fond idolatry. The haughty barons, already juſtly diſſatisfied with Edward's conduct in regard to Scotland, were enraged at the ſuperiority of a minion whom they deſpiſed. Nor did they take any care to conceal their animoſity. Meanwhile Gaveſton, inſtead of diſarming envy by the moderation and modeſty of his behaviour, diſplayed his power and influence with the utmoſt oſtentation. Every day multiplied his enemies; and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and his maſter.

THIS union was at length effected by Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and firſt prince of the blood. He put himſelf at the head of that party among the barons who deſired the depreſ-

A.D. 1308.

ſion

PART I. A.D. 1308. sion of this inſolent ſtranger. The confederated nobles bound themſelves by oath to expel Gaveſton: they took arms for that purpoſe, and Edward was obliged to baniſh him. But he was afterwards recalled; reinſtated in his former conſequence, and became more than ever the object of general deteſtation among the nobility, on account of his oſtentation and inſolence. A new confederacy was formed againſt him: he was again baniſhed, and again recalled by the fond deluded monarch. An univerſal revolt took place; Edward and his favourite were hunted from corner to A.D. 1312. corner; and Gaveſton at laſt fell by the hands of the public executioner [1].

AFTER the death of Gaveſton, the king's perſon became leſs obnoxious to the people. The diſcontents of all men ſeemed to be much appeaſed: the animoſities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, it was hoped, would now be able to take vengeance on all her enemies, but eſpecially on the Scots, whoſe progreſs was become the object of general reſentment and indignation.

SOON after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except a few fortreſſes. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion: he enliſted under his ſtandard every bold ſpirit, and he enriched his followers with the ſpoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatneſs and renown of that warlike family, ſeconded Robert in all his enterprizes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour; and the dread of the Engliſh power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the leaſt ſanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency.

1. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. W. Heming.

They

They obtained a truce, which was of ſhort duration, and ill obſerved on both ſides. But ſhort as it was, it ſerved to conſolidate the power of the king, and introduce order into the civil government. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himſelf, Robert made ſucceſsful inroads into England; ſubſiſted his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to deſpiſe the military genius of a people, who had long been the object of their terror. A.D. 1312.

EDWARD, at length rouſed from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to riſk too much againſt a ſuperior force, had again retired into his mountains. The Engliſh monarch advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being deſtitute of proviſions, and ill ſupported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The ſeeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveſton, opened again the proſpect of reducing Scotland, and promiſed a happy concluſion to a war in which both the intereſts and the paſſions of the nation were ſo deeply engaged.

EDWARD aſſembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finiſhing at one blow this important enterprize. He ſummoned the moſt warlike of his vaſſals from Gaſcony: he enliſted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the diſorderly Iriſh, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welch, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thouſand men. The Scottiſh army did not exceed thirty thouſand combatants; but being compoſed of men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by many acts of valour, who were rendered A.D. 1314.

PART I. A. D. 1314. rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet in front, a hill on his right flank, and a moras on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

June 14. THE English army arrived in sight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately ensued between two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any farther hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of a few hours, was borne with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced against the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the dispute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry; but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggoners and sumpter boys, and furnished them with standards. They appeared

appeared upon the heights toward the left. The Engliſh miſtook them for a freſh army coming to ſurround them: a panic ſeized them; they threw down their arms, and fled. The Scots purſued with great ſlaughter, as far as Berwick; and beſides an ineſtimable booty, took many perſons of quality priſoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity, and whoſe ranſom was a new acceſſion of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by taking ſhelter in Dunbar, whence he paſſed by ſea to Berwick [2]. LETTER XXXVII. A. D. 1314.

SUCH was the great and deciſive battle of Bannockburn, which ſecured the independency of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the moſt ſignal blow that the Engliſh monarchy has received ſince the Norman invaſion. The number of ſlain is not certainly known, but it muſt have been very great; for the impreſſion of this defeat on the minds of the Engliſh was ſo ſtrong, that no ſuperiority of force could encourage them to keep the field againſt the Scots for ſome years.

IN order to avail himſelf of his preſent ſucceſs, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without oppoſition; and elated by his continued proſperity, now entertained hopes of making the moſt important conqueſts at the expence of the Engliſh. He ſent over his brother Edward with an army of ſix thouſand men into Ireland, and he himſelf followed ſoon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time deſolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottiſh army to the greateſt extremity; ſo that Robert was obliged to re- A. D. 1315.

2. Mon. Malmſ. T. de la More. T. Walſingham. Ypod. Neuſt.

turn,

PART I. A. D. 1316.

turn, with his forces much diminiſhed, into his own country. His brother, who had aſſumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardſhips, was defeated and ſlain by the Engliſh near Dundalk; and Robert became ſenſible that he had attempted projects too extenſive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

EDWARD, beſides the diſaſters which he ſuffered from the invaſion of the Scots, and the oppoſition formed againſt his government in Ireland, was haraſſed with a rebellion in Wales: and the factions of his nobility troubled him yet more than all theſe. They took advantage of the public calamities to inſult his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own independency on the ruins of the throne. The king's unhappy ſituation obliged him to comply with all their demands. The miniſtry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaſter, and that prince was placed at the head of the council. Edward himſelf was evidently by nature unfit to hold the reins of government. He was ſenſible of his own defects, and ſought to be governed; yet every favourite (for ſuch they were rather than miniſters) whom he ſucceſſively choſe, was regarded as a fellow-ſubject exalted above his rank and ſtation, and became the object of envy to the chief nobility. The king's principal favourite, after the death of Gaveſton, was Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spenſer, a young man of Engliſh birth, and of a noble family. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs that were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward, but was deſtitute of that moderation and prudence, which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct himſelf quietly through the perils of the dangerous ſtation to which he was advanced.

No

LETTER XXXVII.

No ſooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenſer, than the turbulent Lancaſter, and moſt of the great barons, regarded him as their rival; made him the object of their animoſity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They withdrew themſelves from parliament, betook themſelves to arms, and demanded the baniſhment of the favourite and his father. Theſe noblemen were then abſent. The father was abroad, the ſon at ſea; and both were employed in executing different commiſſions. The king therefore replied, That his coronation oath, by which he was bound to obſerve the laws, reſtrained him from giving his aſſent to ſo illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accuſed of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of giving anſwer. But equity and reaſon proved a feeble barrier againſt men who had arms in their hands, and who being already involved in guilt, ſaw no ſafety but in ſucceſs and victory. They entered London with their troops; and giving into the parliament, which was then ſitting, a charge againſt the Spenſers (of which they did not attempt to prove one article), they procured, by menaces and violence, a ſentence of perpetual exile againſt thoſe miniſters [3]. A. D. 1321

THIS act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquieſce, rendered his perſon and authority ſo contemptible, that every one thought himſelf entitled to treat the royal family with neglect. The queen was publicly inſulted; but as that princeſs was generally beloved, Edward was permitted to take vengeance on the offender. Having now ſome forces on foot, and having concerted meaſures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to pull off the maſk;

3. Tyrrel, from the Regiſter of C. C. Canterbury. T. Walſingham. Tuttle's *Collect.* par. ii. Rymer, vol. iii.

to

PART I. to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spenſers, whoſe ſentence he declared illegal, unjuſt, and
A.D. 1321. contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter[4].

THE king had now got the ſtart of the barons; an advantage which in thoſe times was generally deciſive. It proved ſo in the preſent inſtance. Lancaſter alone made reſiſtance: he was taken priſoner, condemned by
A.D. 1322. a court martial, and led to execution. About twenty more of the moſt notorious offenders were afterwards condemned by legal trial, and executed. Many were thrown into priſon; ſome made their eſcape beyond ſea; and moſt of the forfeitures were ſeized by young Spenſer, whoſe rapacity was inſatiable. The barons of the king's party were diſguſted with this partial diviſion of the ſpoils: the envy againſt the favourite roſe higher than ever. The people, who always hated him, made him ſtill more the object of their averſion: all the relations of the attainted barons vowed revenge; and although tranquillity was in appearance reſtored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium of Spenſer, engendered future revolutions and convulſions.

IN ſuch a ſituation no ſucceſs could be expected from foreign wars. Edward, therefore, after making one more fruitleſs attempt againſt Scotland, whence he retreated with diſhonour, found it neceſſary to termi-
A.D. 1323. nate hoſtilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was ſo much the more ſeaſonable for England, as the nation was at that time threatened with hoſtilities from France. Charles the Fair had ſome grounds of complaint againſt the Engliſh miniſters in Guienne, and ſeemed deſirous to take

4. Rymer, ubi ſup.

advantage

advantage of Edward's weakneſs, in order to confiſcate all his foreign dominions.

AFTER an embaſſy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother, had been tried in vain, queen Iſabella obtained permiſſion to go over to Paris, and endeavour to adjuſt matters with her brother. She there found a number of Engliſh fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian faction; and their common hatred of young Spenſer, ſoon begot a ſecret friendſhip and correſpondence between them and that princeſs, who envied the favourite his influence with the king. Among theſe refugees was Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welſh Marches, who had been condemned for high treaſon, but had made his eſcape from the Tower. His conſequence introduced him to queen Iſabella, and the graces of his perſon and addreſs advanced him quickly in her affections. He became her confidant and counſellor in all her meaſures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to ſacrifice at laſt, to her paſſion, all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity to her huſband. Hating now the man ſhe had injured, and whom ſhe never loved, ſhe entered ardently into all Mortimer's conſpiracies; and having artfully got into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, ſhe reſolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the ſame criminal purpoſe: her court was daily filled with exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the moſt declared intimacy with her, and a correſpondence was ſecretly carried on with the malcontent party in England[5]. A. D. 1324.

WHEN Edward was informed of theſe alarming circumſtances, he required the queen ſpeedily to return with the prince. But Iſabella publicly replied, that A. D. 1325.

5. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. Ypod. Neuſt.

PART I. A.D. 1325. ſhe would never ſet foot in the kingdom, until Hugh Spenſer was for ever removed from his preſence and counſels. This declaration procured her great popularity in England, and drew a decent veil over all her unreaſonable enterprizes. She no ſooner arrived with her ſon in England than the king was entirely deſerted. He fled to Wales. The elder Spenſer, now earl of Wincheſter, and governor of the caſtle of Briſtol, was delivered by the garriſon into the hands of his A.D. 1326. enemies; and being inſtantly condemned, without any trial, witneſs, or accuſation, to ſuffer death, he was hanged on a gibbet in his armour. His unhappy, but more criminal ſon, ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate: and the king, diſappointed in his expectations of ſuccour from the Welch, was ſeized among their mountains, where he had endeavoured to conceal himſelf, and confined in Kenilworth caſtle. Meanwhile the queen, taking advantage of the prevailing deluſion, ſummoned in Edward's name a parliament at Weſtminſter; where the king was accuſed of incapacity for government, and by the authority of her partizans de- A.D. 1327. poſed. The prince, a youth of fourteen years of age, was placed on the throne, and the queen was appointed regent during his minority [6].

THE great body of the people are ſeldom long in the wrong with reſpect to any political meaſure. Corrupted as they now were by the licentiouſneſs of the times, and inflamed by faction, they could not, in the preſent inſtance, remain inſenſible to the voice of nature. A wife had firſt diſhonoured, next invaded, and then dethroned her huſband: ſhe had made her infant ſon an inſtrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; and had, by lying pretences, ſeduced the nation into rebellion againſt their ſovereign, whoſe weakneſs was his only crime. All theſe circumſtances

6. Ypod. Neuſt. T. Walſingham. T. de la More. Rymer, vol.

were

were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest so flagrant an infringement of every public and private duty. LETTER XXVII. A. D. 1327.

The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose custody the dethroned monarch had been committed, was soon touched with sentiments of compassion and generosity; and besides using his prisoner with gentleness and humanity, he was suspected to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour. The king was therefore taken out of his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While in the custody of Berkeley, he was still treated with the gentleness due to his rank and misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was practised against him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the unhappy prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous means, as the instruments of his murder. But that method of laying Edward in his grave appearing still too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he secretly sent orders to the two keepers, who were at his devotion, to dispatch their sovereign: and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel as possible. Taking advantage of Berkeley's sickness, in whose custody he then was, but who was incapacitated from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed; held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, and thrust into his fundament a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron. But although

PART I. A.D. 1327.

though outward marks of violence were prevented by this expedient, the atrocious deed was diſcovered to all the guards and attendants by the ſcreams of the agonizing king [7].

THUS periſhed the unfortunate Edward II. It is not eaſy for imagination to figure a man more innocent and inoffenſive, or a prince leſs fitted for governing a fierce and turbulent people. The vigour and capacity of the ſon made ample amends for his father's weakneſs. But a variety of objects muſt occupy our attention, before we conſider the reign of the third Edward.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* RODULPH *of* HAPSBURG, *to the Death of* HENRY VII.

LETTER XXXVIII.

THE German empire, my dear Philip, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, could not properly be ſaid to have a head, from the death of Frederic II. till the election of Rodulph count of Hapſburg. A.D. 1273. This great cpatain, who had ſome time exerciſed the office of grand marſhal to Ottocarus king of Bohemia, and was raiſed to the imperial dignity on account of his military talents, no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the auguſt throne, than he employed his authority in ſuppreſſing the diſorders which had prevailed

7. T. Walſingham. T. de la More.

vailed during the interregnum; and he ſucceeded ſo well in his endeavours, that peace and ſecurity were ſoon generally re-eſtabliſhed in Germany. He deſtroyed in Thuringia ſixty caſtles, which were the A. D. 1273. treats of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt [1]. LETTER XXXVIII.

HAVING thus in ſome meaſure ſettled the interior police of the empire, Rodulph aſſembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to Goſlar and other cities, and confirmed thoſe which had been granted by his predeceſſors. Here alſo the deliberations of the aſſembly turned upon the conduct of certain princes, who had proteſted againſt the election of the count of Hapſburg. Among theſe was Ottocarus king of Bohemia, againſt whom the diet had other cauſes of diſſatisfaction. He had ſeized upon the duchy of Auſtria, after the death of Frederic, the laſt duke; and the ſtates complained of the oppreſſions which they ſuffered under this uſurper, from whom they begged to be delivered, A. D. 1274.

A SECOND diet was ſummoned on this ſubject at Augſburg; where Ottocarus not appearing, or doing homage by his ambaſſadors, was declared a rebel to the empire. His poſſeſſion of Auſtria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carinthia, was adjudged illegal: and the emperor was deſired to diveſt him of thoſe territories. A. D. 1275.

WHEN this ſentence was notified to Ottocarus, he arrogantly exclaimed, "To whom ſhould I do homage?—I owe Rodulph nothing: he was formerly my ſervant; and I paid him his wages. My

1. *Annal. Boior.* Heiſs, liv. ii. c. 22.

PART I. "poſſeſſions I will maintain with the point of my
A. D. 1273. "ſword[2]."

IN conſequence of this reſolution, Ottocarus aſſociated himſelf with ſeveral other German princes, and among the reſt with the duke of Bavaria. But they were all at laſt obliged to ſubmit; and the proud Ottocarus himſelf not only relinquiſhed the conteſted territories, but did homage for Bohemia and Moravia.

A. D. 1276. THIS homage was performed in the iſland of Camberg in the Danube, under a cloſe canopy, in order to ſave Ottocarus from a public humiliation. He repaired to the place, all covered with gold and jewels. Rodulph, by a ſuperior pride, received him in the moſt coarſe and ſimple dreſs; and in the midſt of the ceremony, either by accident or deſign, the curtains of the canopy fell back, and expoſed to the eyes of the people, and the armies that lined the banks of the river, the haughty king on his knees, with his hands joined between thoſe of his conqueror, whom he had ſo often called his ſteward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer.

THE wife of Ottocarus, a Ruſſian princeſs, and no leſs haughty than her huſband, was ſo much hurt by this mortifying circumſtance, that ſhe induced him to renounce the treaty he had concluded with Rodulph, and again have recourſe to arms for the recovery of Auſtria. The emperor immediately marched a-
A. D. 1277. gainſt him; and a battle enſued, in which Ottocarus was ſlain.

RODULPH now diſcovered himſelf to be no leſs politician than a warrior. He gave the governme-

2. Æn. Sylv. *Hiſt. Bohem.*

of

of Auſtria and its appendages to his eldeſt ſon, count Albert; whom he afterwards, in a diet at Augſburg, publicly inveſted with that duchy, which was incorporated with the college of the princes. Hence the riſe of the houſe of Auſtria. And he at the ſame time inveſted Rodulph, another of his ſons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in right of his wife. He alſo wiſely reſolved to adhere to the articles of the treaty with Ottocarus; and accordingly put his infant ſon Winceſlaus under the tutelage of the marquis of Brandenburg [3].

A.D. 1282.

But although Rodulph's authority was now fully eſtabliſhed in Germany, he was far from being maſter in Italy. The imperial crown had indeed been confirmed to him by Gregory X. on his ceding to the Holy See the lands of the counteſs Matilda, and all the territories mentioned in the grants made to the church by former emperors. In ſo doing, Rodulph properly yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance, and cities which it was not in his power to command. Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, had a greater number of ſhips than the emperor could muſter of enſigns: Florence was become conſiderable, and already the nurſe of the liberal arts.

Rodulph ſpent the latter part of his reign in eſtabliſhing the grandeur of his family in Auſtria. He granted privileges to the clergy; beſtowed new dignities upon the noblemen; diminiſhed the taxes; built and repaired public edifices; and behaved with ſo much generoſity and moderation, as won the hearts of all men. But, notwithſtanding his popularity,

3. Heiſs, ubi ſup. Du Mont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. i.

PART I. he could not procure his ſon Albert, duke of Auſtria, to be elected king of the Romans; a diſappointment which, together with the death of his ſon Rodulph, ſo much chagrined him, that he died ſoon after. He was a prince of great valour, ſagacity, and probity; and raiſed the empire, from a ſtate of miſery and confuſion, to the enjoyment of peace, polity, and riches 4.

A.D. 1291.

AFTER an interregnum of nine months, which was productive of many diſorders, the German princes raiſed to the imperial throne Adolphus of Naſſau, on the ſame principle which had made them chuſe his predeceſſor. He ſeemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of its armies, without being able to enſlave it.

A.D. 1292.

THE reign of this prince was one continued ſcene of troubles, and at laſt terminated in his depoſition. His neceſſities had made him guilty of ſeveral acts of injuſtice; which Albert duke of Auſtria, diſſatisfied at not ſucceeding to the imperial throne, took care to repreſent in the worſt light. A confederacy was formed againſt Adolphus; and he was depoſed by the archbiſhop of Mentz, in the name of the princes of the empire.

A.D. 1297.

"SIX years ago," ſaid the archbiſhop, "the empire being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus "count of Naſſau king of the Romans, knowing at

4. Heiſs, lib ii. c. 22. Barre, tom. vi. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Nothing can ſhew in a ſtronger light the reſolution and firmneſs of Rodulph, than his behaviour at his coronation. The imperial ſceptre, ſuppoſed to be that of Charlemagne, being miſſing, ſeemed to afford ſome diſaffected noblemen a pretext for not taking the oath of allegiance:—"This is my ſceptre!" ſaid he, ſeizing a crucifix; and all preſent inſtantly did him homage. Heiſs, &c. ubi ſup.

"that

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A.D. 1297.

"that time no perſon more worthy of the dignity. "At firſt he conducted himſelf wiſely, following the "counſels of the moſt prudent electors and princes of "his court. But he began by degrees to deſpiſe their "advice, and liſten to the counſels of young perſons, "without either ſenſe or experience; then he found "himſelf deſtitute of means and friends to aſſiſt him "ſincerely in bearing the burden of government. The "electors perceiving his indigence, and ſwayed by "many other motives, have demanded the pope's "conſent to depoſe him, and chuſe another emperor. "We are told that our envoys have obtained the con- "ſent of his Holineſs though thoſe of Adolphus af- "firm the contrary; but we, having no regard to "any authority except that which is veſted in our- "ſelves, and finding Adolphus incapable of govern- "ing the empire, do depoſe him from the imperial "dignity, and elect Albert, duke of Auſtria, king "of the Romans [5]."

ADOLPHUS, appriſed of this election, raiſed the ſiege of Ruffach, in Alſace, and marched towards Spire, where he encamped. He was reinforced by the count Palatine Rodulph, Otho duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which had never deſerted his cauſe. Albert advanced towards him, in order to diſpute the imperial crown by arms. They engaged between Gelnheim and the cloiſter of Roſendal, and the battle was maintained with much obſtinacy on both ſides. In the heat of action Adolphus, ſingling out his rival, attacked him hand to hand, haughtily exclaiming, "Here you ſhall reſign to me the em- "pire and your life!"—"Both," replied Albert, "are in the hands of God;" and immediately ſtruck

5. *Chron. Colm.*

his

PART I. his competitor with ſuch violence in the face, that he
A. D. 1297. fell from his horſe, and was inſtantly ſlain [6].

DURING the reign of Adolphus, and alſo of his predeceſſor Rodulph, the Jews were perſecuted in the empire with great cruelty, on a ſuppoſition that they had ſlain ſeveral Chriſtian children, and committed other crimes, which excited the hatred of the public. They were accuſed of having ſtolen a conſecrated hoſt: and the credulous people, without examining into the matter, were ſo much incenſed at this pretended ſacrilege, that the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottemberg, Amberg, and ſeveral other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, ſeized all the unhappy Iſraelites that fell in their way; committed them to the flames, and drove the reſt to ſuch deſpair, that numbers choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves and families than run the hazard of falling into the hands of the mercileſs Chriſtians. Nor was this unhappy people treated with more indulgence in Holland and Frieſland, their preſent aſylum, at that time provinces of the empire [7].

THOUGH Albert had been elected king of the Romans before his victory over Adolphus, and conſequently became emperor on the death of that prince, he choſe to have his title confirmed by a new diet; which was accordingly aſſembled for that purpoſe at
A.D. 1298. Frankfort, the elector of Triers and the Palatine not having formerly given their votes: and he was afterwards ſolemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The concourſe of people, on that occaſion, was ſo great, that the duke of Saxony, the emperor's brother, and

6. Ibid.

7. *Annal. Steron.* Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. Dr. Moſheim leaves it doubtful whether the accuſations againſt the Jews were true or falſe; but his learned and judicious tranſlator, in a note, gives reaſon to believe they were inſidiouſly forged.

ſeveral

LETTER XXXVIII.

A.D. 1298.

several other persons, were squeezed to death in the crowd [8].

THE first years of Albert's reign were disquieted by a quarrel with the pope and the ecclesiastical electors. Boniface VIII. the last pontiff who pretended to dispose of crowns, and who carried the pretensions of the apostolic see as high as any of his predecessors, took part with the three German archbishops, who had refused to answer the emperor's summons. They were at length, however, obliged to submit; and Boniface confirmed the election of Albert, when he wanted to make him the instrument of his vengeance against Philip king of France. But the emperor did not obtain this confirmation, it is said, till he had declared, that "the empire was transferred by "the Holy See from the Greeks to the Germans; "that the sovereign pontiff has granted to certain "ecclesiastical and secular princes the right of electing "a king of the Romans, destined to the empire; and "that emperors and kings derive their regal power "from the pope [9]."

A.D. 1303.

THE most remarkable event in this reign is the rise of the republic of Switzerland. Fortified by their natural situation, surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, the Swiss having nothing to fear from strangers, had lived happily in a rugged country, suited only to men who have been accustomed to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the basis of their government. They had been free from time immemorial; and when any of their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled, or reduced within bounds by the people. But although the Swiss were extreme-

8. Heiss, liv. ii. chap. xxiv. 9. *Hist. de Demel. de Bonif. VIII. avec Philip le Bel.* Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii.

ly

PART I. ly jealous of their liberty, they had always been submiſſive to the empire, on which they depended; and many of their towns were free and imperial.

WHEN Rodulph of Hapſburg was elected emperor, ſeveral lords of caſtles formally accuſed the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themſelves from their feudal ſubjection. But Rodulph, who had formerly fought againſt thoſe petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens; and thenceforth theſe three cantons were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

RODULPH always treated the Swiſs with great indulgence, and generouſly defended their rights and privileges againſt the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. Albert's conduct in theſe reſpects, was juſt the reverſe of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiſs as an abſolute ſovereign, and had formed a ſcheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his ſons. In order to accompliſh this purpoſe, he endeavoured to perſuade the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, to ſubmit voluntarily to his dominion. In caſe of compliance, he promiſed to rule them with great lenity; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his ſolicitations, he reſolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the moſt arbitrary manner.

THE tyranny of theſe governors exceeded all belief. Geiſler, governor of Ury, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf, and every paſſenger was commanded, on pain of death, to pay obeiſance to it. But the independent ſpirit of William Tell, who among others had projected the deliverance of his country, diſdained to pay that ab-

ſurd

ſurd homage. On this the governor ordered him to be hanged; but remitted the puniſhment, on condition that he ſhould ſtrike an apple from his ſon's head with an arrow. Tell, who was an excellent marksman, accepted the alternative, and had the good fortune to ſtrike off the apple without hurting his ſon. But Geiſler perceiving a ſecond arrow under William's coat, inquired for what purpoſe that was intended: "It was "deſigned for thee," replied the indignant Swiſs, "if I had killed my ſon." For that heroic anſwer he was doomed to perpetual impriſonment, though fortune happily put it out of the governor's power to carry his ſentence into execution. LETTER XXXVIII.

THIS and other acts of wanton tyranny determined Arnauld Melchtat, a native of Underwald, Werner Strauffacher of Schwitz, and Walter Furtz of Ury, to put in execution thoſe meaſures which they had concerted for delivering themſelves and their country from the Auſtrian dominion. Naturally bold and enterpriſing, and united by a long intimacy of friendſhip, they had frequently met in private to deliberate upon this intereſting ſubject: each aſſociated three others; and theſe twelve men accompliſhed their important enterprize, without the loſs of a ſingle life. A.D. 1308. Having prepared the inhabitants of their ſeveral cantons for a revolt, they ſurpriſed the Auſtrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers; obliging them to promiſe upon oath never more to ſerve againſt the Helvetian nation, then diſmiſſed them [10]; an inſtance of moderation, not perhaps to be equalled in the hiſtory of mankind, of a people incenſed againſt their oppreſſors, and who had them in their power!

10. Stetler. *Annal. Helvetic.*

THUS,

PART I. A.D. 1308.

THUS, my dear Philip, these three cantons, Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, delivered themselves from the Austrian yoke, and established that liberty which they still enjoy. The other cantons soon engaged in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Switzerland. Never did any people fight longer or harder for their liberty than the Swiss. They have purchased it, as we shall have occasion to see, by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is to be hoped they will long preserve it, for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Switzerland. The change of government seems to have produced a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated; the craggy rocks are covered with vines; and the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

WHEN Albert was ready to hazard his forces against that courage which is inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, he fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice. His own nephew John, who could not obtain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, resolved to make sure of his revenge. This injured youth, confederating with three others, stabbed the emperor in presence of his court and army, on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Switzerland[11]. No sovereign was ever less regretted, though few have died more tragically. He did not want valour, or abilities; but a desire of aggrandizing his family influenced his whole conduct, and made him violate every public and private tie.

11. Rebdorf. ad ann. 1308.

THE

LETTER XXXVIII.

A. D. 1309.

THE imperial throne continued vacant for ſeven months after the aſſaſſination of Albert. At length the electors aſſembled at Frankfort, and choſe Henry count of Luxembourg; who was crowned, without oppoſition, at Aix-la-Chapelle. A diet was ſoon after held at Spire; where ſentence of death was pronounced againſt prince John for the murder of his uncle, the late emperor; whoſe ſons, at the ſame time, demanded the inveſtiture of Auſtria and the other hereditary dominions of their father, which Henry intended to ſeize. They obtained their demand, on making him ſenſible, that as the houſe of Auſtria had already ſent two emperors out of the world, it might yet prove fatal to a third, if he did not deſiſt from his unjuſt pretenſions [12].

AT this aſſembly alſo appeared Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Winceſlaus king of Bohemia. She had been contracted to John count of Luxemburg, ſon of the preſent emperor, Henry VII. and now king of Bohemia. But the marriage had been delayed, from time to time, under different pretences. The princeſs therefore demanded, that the contract might be fulfilled, or cauſe ſhewn why the nuptials ſhould not be ſolemnized: and underſtanding that a report had been ſpread to the diſadvantage of her chaſtity, ſhe repaired to the emperor's anti-chamber, undreſſed herſelf to the ſhift, in preſence of the ladies there aſſembled, and approaching Henry in that condition, requeſted that ſhe might be immediately examined by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the inſpection of ſome experienced ladies and midwives, who unanimouſly declared her an unſpotted virgin; and, in conſequence of their teſtimony, the nuptials were ſolemnized with

12. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap. 25.

great

PART I. great magnificence, in preſence of the electors and other princes and noblemen of the diet [13].
A. D. 1309.

THIS is a point on which our modern phyſicians would have had many conſultations. They pretend that the ſigns of virginity are altogether precarious, though every old woman affirms them infallible. And fortunately the daughter of Winceſlaus was judged by old women; for ſo ſcrupulous were the bridegrooms of thoſe days on the article of chaſtity, that the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion in regard to it was ſufficient to obſtruct the marriage, or ruin the happineſs of a couple for life.

THE emperors, from the time of Frederic II. ſeemed to have loſt ſight of Italy. But Henry VII. as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of the North, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the imperial authority in that country.
A. D. 1310. With this view a diet was held at Frankfort; where proper ſupplies being granted for the emperor's journey, well known by the name of the Roman Expedition, he ſet out for Italy, accompanied by the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, the archbiſhop of Triers, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, with other noblemen, and the militia of all the imperial towns.

ITALY was ſtill divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, who butchered one another without humanity or remorſe. But their conteſt was no longer the ſame: it was not now a ſtruggle between the empire and the prieſthood, but between faction and faction, inflamed by mutual jealouſies and animoſities. Pope Clement V. had been obliged to leave Rome, which was diſtracted by the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Urſini,

13. Id. Ibid.

and the Roman barons divided the city: and this division was the cauſe of the long abode of the popes in France, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee in the hiſtory of that kingdom; ſo that Rome ſeemed equally loſt to the popes and the emperors. Sicily was in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Arragon, in conſequence of the famous maſſacre called the Sicilian Veſpers, which delivered that iſland from the tyranny of the French, as ſhall be afterwards more fully related. Carobert, king of Hungary, diſputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, ſon of Charles II. of the houſe of Anjou. The houſe of Eſte had eſtabliſhed itſelf at Ferrara; and the Venetians wanted to make themſelves maſters of that country. The old league of the Italian cities no longer ſubſiſted. It had been formed with no other view, than to oppoſe the emperors; and ſince they had neglected Italy, the cities were wholly employed in aggrandizing themſelves at the expence of each other. The Florentines and the Genoeſe made war upon the republic of Piſa. Every city was alſo divided into factions within itſelf; Florence between the Blacks and the Whites, and Milan between the Viſconti and the Turriani.

LETTER XXXVIII.

A. D. 1310.

In the midſt of theſe troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs had concealed the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a particular circlet of metal. But Henry, contemning ſuch a thought, ordered a new crown to be made, with which the ceremony of inauguration was performed [14].

A. D. 1311.

Cremona was the firſt place that ventured to oppoſe the emperor. He reduced it by force, and laid it

14. Struv. period. ix. ſect. 4.

PART I. A. D. 1311. under heavy contributions. Parma, Vicenza, and Placentia, made peace with him on reaſonable conditions. Padua paid an hundred thouſand crowns, and received an imperial officer as governor. The Venetians preſented Henry with a large ſum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a chain of very curious workmanſhip. Breſcia made a deſperate reſiſtance, and ſuſtained a very long ſiege; in the courſe of which the emperor's brother was ſlain, and his army diminiſhed to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants ventured to march out, under the command of their prefect, Thibault de Druſſati, and give him battle. But they were repulſed with great loſs, after an obſtinate engagement, and at laſt obliged to ſubmit. Their city was diſmantled.

A. D. 1312. FROM Breſcia Henry marched to Genoa, where he was received with expreſſions of joy, and ſplendidly entertained. He next proceeded to Rome; where, after much bloodſhed, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the cardinals. Clement V. who had originally invited Henry into Italy, growing jealous of his ſucceſs, had leagued with Robert king of Naples and the Urſini faction, to oppoſe his entrance into Rome. He entered it in ſpite of them, by the aſſiſtance of the Colonnas [15].

Now maſter of that ancient city, Henry appointed it a governor; and ordered, that all the cities and ſtates of Italy ſhould pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprehended the kingdom of Naples, to which he was going to make good his claim of
A. D. 1313. ſuperiority by arms, when he died at Benevento, of poiſon, as is commonly ſuppoſed, given him by a

15. Struv. ubi ſup. Cuſpin. *Vit. Hen. VII.*

Dominican

Dominican friar, in the conſecrated wine of the ſacrament[16]. LETTER XXXVIII. A.D. 1313.

DURING the laſt years of the reign of Henry VII. who was a valiant and politic prince, the knights of the Teutonic order aggrandiſed themſelves, by making war upon the Pagans of the North. They poſſeſſed themſelves of Samogitia, after butchering all the inhabitants who refuſed to embrace Chriſtianity: they took Dantzick, and purchaſed Pomerella of a marquis of Brandenburg, to whom it then belonged. But while the order was making theſe acquiſitions in Europe, it loſt all its poſſeſſions in Aſia[17].

THE affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XXXIX.

FRANCE, *from the Death of* LEWIS IX. *till the Acceſſion of the Houſe of* VALOIS.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, ſeen the pious Lewis IX. periſh on the coaſt of Africa, in a ſecond expedition againſt the Infidels. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip III. ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince of ſome merit, but much inferior to his father, is the intereſt that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily. This circumſtance naturally leads us to an account of the famous Sicilian Veſpers, and of the war between France and Arragon. LETTER XXXIX. A. D. 1270.

16. Id. ibid. 17. Pet. de Duiſburgh, *Chronic. Pruſſiæ.* Solignac, *Hiſt. de Pologne.* Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. vi.

PART I.

A. D. 1270. CHARLES, by the ſeverity of his government, had not only rendered himſelf, but his family odious to the Sicilians; and the inſolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable averſion againſt the whole nation. At the ſame time, the boundleſs ambition of this prince, who was actually preparing to attack the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, and was ſuſpected to have an eye alſo to the German empire, raiſed a general jealouſy of him among his neighbours. Of that number was pope Nicholas III. who particularly dreaded Charles's power; and, if he is not ſlandered by the French hiſtorians, contrived the ſcheme of his humiliation, though it did not take effect till after the death of his Holineſs. It was conducted by John di Prodica, a Sicilian nobleman, who had ſecretly prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt: and an accident gave it birth.

A.D. 1282. ON the evening of Eaſter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in proceſſion to the church of Monreale, in the neighbourhood of Palermo, a bride happened to paſs by with her train; when one Droguet, a Frenchman, inſtantly ran to her, and began to uſe her in a rude manner, under pretence of ſearching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with reſentment, ſtabbed Droguet to the heart; a tumult enſued, and two hundred Frenchmen were ſlain on the ſpot. The enraged populace now ran to the city, crying aloud, "Kill the French! Kill the "French!"—and, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, murdered every perſon of that nation found in Palermo. The ſame fury ſpread itſelf through the whole iſland, and produced a general maſſacre. The rage of the conſpirators was ſo great, that they did not even ſpare their own relations, but ript up women with child by Frenchmen, and daſhed the half-formed infants

infants againſt the walls; while the prieſts, catching the general frenzy, butchered all their French penitents[1]. LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 1282.

PETER, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroy, the former uſurper of Sicily, ſupported the Sicilians in their rebellion, and openly claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. The Sicilians received him with open arms. He was crowned at Palermo; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to abandon the iſland, after having beſieged Meſſina for ſix weeks in vain. He had now no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general were well affected to him, and readily offered to furniſh troops for his ſupport. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by Philip III. Martin IV. who had ſucceeded Nicholas III. in the ſee of Rome, was alſo entirely in the intereſt of Charles; who might probably have recovered Sicily, had he not imprudently agreed to decide the diſpute with Peter by ſingle combat.

THE king of Arragon, who had the duel very little at heart, was by that means enabled to amuſe his rival, and fix his own family on the throne of Sicily, which became a ſeparate kingdom from Naples. In the meantime the pope excommunicated Peter, and gave his dominions to any of the younger ſons of France that the king ſhould chuſe to name. Philip III. flattered by this propoſal, declared his ſon Charles of Valois king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona. He put himſelf at the head of a numerous army, in order to realize theſe honours; and he furniſhed, at the ſame time, his uncle Charles of A.D. 1283.

1. Spondan. Maleſpina. Giannone, *Hiſt. di Napol.*

PART I. Anjou with a fleet and army for the recovery of Sicily. Splendid projects! which proved the ruin of both.

A. D. 1283.

CHARLES had left his ſon of the ſame name at Naples, with ſtrict orders to riſk nothing until his arrival with ſuccours from France. But that young prince, provoked by the Arragoneſe fleet, ſailed out with the force under his command, and was defeated and taken priſoner before his father's return; a circumſtance which ſo much affected the king, that he is ſaid to have ſtrangled himſelf with a halter, a death ſufficiently mild for ſuch a tyrant [2].

A. D. 1284.

MEANWHILE the French army, under the command of Philip, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid ſiege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. The king of Arragon being in the neighbourhood with a ſmall army, attacked a convoy going to the French camp, and received a mortal wound. Gironne ſurrendered; and Philip having put a good garriſon into it, diſmiſſed part of his fleet, which had been principally hired from the Italian ſtates. Roger di Loria, the Arragoneſe admiral, who durſt not attack the French fleet while entire, burnt and deſtroyed it when divided, ſeizing all the money and proviſions intended for the ſupport of the army: and theſe loſſes ſunk ſo deeply into the mind of Philip, that he ſecretly repaſſed the Pyrenees, and died a few days after at Perpignan [3].

A. D. 1285.

PHILIP III. was the firſt French monarch who granted Letters of Nobility, which he beſtowed on Ralph the Goldſmith. In ſo doing, he only reſtored

2. Id. ibid. 3. Nag. *Chron.*

the

the ancient conſtitution of the Franks; who, being all of one blood, were eſteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the higheſt offices. The notion of a particular and diſtinct nobleſſe, took its riſe towards the cloſe of the ſecond race, when many of the officers of the crown had uſurped, and converted into hereditary dignities, the offices and juriſdictions which they received from royal favour[4].

THE reign of Philip IV. ſurnamed the Fair, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip the Hardy, forms an æra in the hiſtory of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the inſtitution of the ſupreme tribunals, called Parliaments, and the formal admiſſion of the commons, or third eſtate, into the general aſſemblies of the nation. How the French commons came afterwards to be excluded from theſe aſſemblies, we ſhall have occaſion to ſee in the courſe of our narration.

THE firſt care of Philip was to compoſe all differences with his neighbours, as he found his finances exhauſted: and this he was enabled to effect by the mediation of Edward I. of England, againſt whom he afterwards ungenerouſly commenced hoſtilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland. Philip alſo attempted, at the expence of much blood and treaſure, to ſeize the county of Flanders, which had leagued with England. But as theſe wars were neither diſtinguiſhed by any remarkable event, nor followed by any conſequence that altered the ſtate of either country, I ſhall proceed to the tranſactions between Philip and the ſee of Rome, and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

4. Henault, tom. i.

PART I. POPE BONIFACE VIII. of whoſe arrogance I have already had occaſion to ſpeak, prohibited the clergy in general from granting any aids or ſubſidies to princes without his leave. Philip IV. who was no leſs haughty than his Holineſs, and very needy, thought the clergy, as being the richeſt order of the ſtate, ought to contribute to the wants of the crown, when the ſituation of affairs made it neceſſary, and without any application to Rome; he therefore encountered the pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to ſend money abroad without the royal permiſſion. This was the firſt cauſe of the famous quarrel between Boniface and Philip; and the inſolence of a biſhop of Pamiers threw things into a ſtill greater ferment.

THIS man, named Bernard Saiſſetti, who had rebelled againſt the king in his dioceſe, was appointed
A. D. 1303. by Boniface legate to the French court. An obnoxious ſubject thus inveſted with a dignity, which, according to the ſee of Rome, made him equal to the ſovereign himſelf, came to Paris and braved Philip, threatening his kingdom with an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in ſuch a manner, would have been puniſhed with death, but the perſon of a churchman was ſacred; and Philip was ſatisfied with delivering this incendiary into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of Narbonne, not daring to treat him as a criminal.

POPE BONIFACE, enraged at the confinement of his legate, iſſued a bull, declaring, "That the vicar "of Chriſt is veſted with full authority over the "kings and kingdoms of the earth:" and the clergy of France received, at the ſame time, an order from his Holineſs to repair to Rome. A French archdeacon

deacon carried this bull, and theſe orders to the king; commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his temporal ſovereign. This inſolence was anſwered with a moderation little ſuited to the character of Philip. He contented himſelf with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and prohibiting the biſhops from departing the kingdom. Forty of them, however, with many of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition. For this treſpaſs he ſeized all their temporalities.

WHILE Boniface and his council were conſidering the conduct of Philip, and by means of his confeſſor brought his moſt ſecret thoughts under review, that politic prince aſſembled the ſtates of his kingdom. They acknowledged his independent right to the ſovereignty of France, and diſavowed the pope's claim. It was on this occaſion, that the repreſentatives of cities were firſt regularly ſummoned to the national aſſembly [5].

PHILIP was now at full liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. He accordingly leagued with the family of Colonna, and ſent William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer, into Italy, with a ſum of money, in order to raiſe troops. A body of deſperadoes were ſuddenly and ſecretly collected, with which William and Sciarra Colonna ſurpriſed Boniface at Anagni, a town in his own territories, and the place of his birth, exclaiming, "Let the pope die! and long live "the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not loſe his courage. He dreſſed himſelf in his cope, put the tiara upon his head; and, holding the keys in one hand, and the croſs in the other, preſented himſelf

5. Henault, ubi ſup. Du Cheſne. Polyd. Virg.

with

PART I. A.D. 1303.

with an air of majeſty before his conquerors. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, Sciarra had the brutality to ſtrike him, crying out, "Tyrant! renounce the "pontificate, which thou haſt diſhonoured."—"I "am pope," replied Boniface, with a look of intrepidity, "and I will die pope!" This gallant behaviour had ſuch an effect on the minds of the inhabitants, that they roſe againſt his enemies, and reſcued him from their hands. But Boniface was ſo much affected by the indignities which had been offered him, that he died in a few days[6].

On the death of Boniface, the cardinals elected Nicholas Boccacini, who took the name of Benedict XI. He was a mild and good man; and being deſirous of uſing his power for the promoting of peace, he revoked the ſentence of excommunication, which his predeceſſor had fulminated againſt Philip the Fair. He alſo pardoned the Colonnas; and ſhewed a great diſpoſition to reform that corruption, which had ſpread itſelf through the dominions of the church. But theſe proceedings, ſo meritorious in themſelves, excited the hatred of his licentious and vindictive countrymen, who ſuddenly took him off by poiſon.

A.D. 1305. He was ſucceeded by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, and entirely in the intereſt of Philip, fixed his

A.D. 1308. reſidence in France. By means of this pope the French monarch hoped to have obtained the empire for his brother, Charles of Valois, and actually reunited

A.D. 1310. the city of Lyons to his kingdom[7].

But although this was juſtly conſidered as a great acquiſition, Philip had occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Clement in an affair that lay nearer his heart. I allude to the ſuppreſſion of the order of Knights Templars.

6. A. Baillet, *Hiſt. de Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel.*
7. Trivet. *Annal.* Manitr. *Hiſt. Conc. de Lyons.*

That

LETTER XXXIX.

A. D. 1310.

That religious and military order, which took it riſe, as has been already obſerved, during the firſt fervour of the Cruſades, had made rapid advances in credit and authority; and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample poſſeſſions in every Chriſtian country, but more eſpecially in France. The great riches of thoſe knights, and other concurring cauſes, had however relaxed the ſeverity of their diſcipline. Convinced by experience, by fatigues, and by dangers, of the folly of their fruitleſs expeditions into Aſia, they choſe rather to enjoy in eaſe their opulent fortunes in Europe; and being all men of birth, they ſcorned the ignoble occupations of a monaſtic life, and paſſed their time wholly in the faſhionable amuſements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleaſures of the table. By theſe means the Templars had in a great meaſure loſt that popularity, which firſt raiſed them to honour and diſtinction. But the immediate cauſe of their deſtruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair.

The ſeverity of the taxes, and the mal-adminiſtration of Philip and his council in regard to the coin, which they had repeatedly altered in its value, occaſioned a ſedition in Paris. The Knights Templars were accuſed of being concerned in the tumult. They were rich, as has been obſerved; and Philip was no leſs avaricious than vindictive. He determined to involve the whole order in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin; and on no better information, than that of two knights, condemned by their ſuperiors to perpetual impriſonment for their vices, he ordered all the Templars in France to be committed to priſon, on one day, and imputed to them ſuch enormous and abſurd crimes, as are ſufficient of themſelves to deſtroy all the credit of the accuſation. They were univerſally charged with murder, robbery, and the vices moſt ſhocking to nature; and

PART I. A. D. 1310. and it was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to ſpit upon the croſs, and to join to this impiety the ſuperſtition of worſhipping a gilded head, which was ſecretly kept in one of their houſes at Marſeilles. The novice was alſo ſaid to be initiated by many infamous rites, which could ſerve no other purpoſe but to degrade the order in his eyes: and, as Voltaire very juſtly obſerves, it ſhews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to ſuppoſe there can be any ſocieties that ſupport themſelves by the badneſs of their morals, or who make a law to enforce the practice of impudence and obſcenity. Every ſociety endeavours to render itſelf reſpectable to thoſe who are deſirous of becoming members of it.

ABSURD, however, as theſe accuſations appear, above one hundred knights were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of their guilt. The more obſtinate periſhed in the hands of their tormentors. Several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was deſired of them. Forged confeſſions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if A. D. 1311. their guilt had now been certain, proceeded to a confiſcation of all their treaſures. But no ſooner were theſe unhappy men relieved from their tortures than they diſavowed their forced confeſſions; exclaimed againſt the forgeries; juſtified the innocence of their order, and appealed to the many gallant actions performed by them, as a full apology for their conduct.

ENRAGED at this diſappointment, and thinking himſelf bound in honour to proceed to extremities, Philip ordered fifty-four Templars, whom he branded as relapſed heretics, to periſh by the puniſhment of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired, after a like manner, in different parts of the kingdom: and

and when the tyrant found, that the perſeverance of thoſe unhappy victims, in juſtifying to the laſt their innocence, had made deep impreſſion on the minds of the people, he endeavoured to overcome the conſtancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. John de Molay, the grand-maſter of the order, and another great officer, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a ſcaffold, erected before the church of Notre-dame at Paris. A full pardon was offered them, on one hand; the fire deſtined for their execution was ſhewn them, on the other. But theſe gallant noblemen perſiſted in the proteſtation of their own innocence and that of their order; and, as the reward of their fortitude, they were inſtantly hurried into the flames by the public executioner [8].

A. D. 1311.

A. D. 1312.

In all this barbarous injuſtice, Clement V. who then reſided at Poitiers, fully concurred; and by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power, in a general council held at Vienne, without examining a ſingle witneſs, or making any inquiry into the truth of facts, he aboliſhed the whole order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into priſon; their conduct underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny, and the power of their enemies ſtill purſued and oppreſſed them. But no where, except in France, were the ſmalleſt traces of their guilt pretended to be found. Some countries ſent ample teſtimony of their piety and morals; but as the order was now annihilated, their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Knights Hoſpitallers. In Spain, they were given to the knights of Calatrava, an order eſtabliſhed to combat the Moors [9].

8. Puteau, *Hiſt. de la Condemnat. de Templiers.* Nic. Gartler. *Hiſt. Templar.* Steph. Baluz. *Vit. Pontif Avenion.*

9. Id. ibid. Rymer, vol. iii. Vertot, *Hiſt. Chev. Malth.* tom. ii.

PHILIP

PART I.

PHILIP, ſoon after the ſuppreſſion of this order, revived his quarrel with the count of Flanders, whoſe dominions he again unſucceſsfully attempted to unite to the crown of France. The failure of that project, together with ſome domeſtic misfortunes, threw him into a languiſhing conſumption, which carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-ſeventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and, notwithſtanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or ſupreme courts of judicature, he ſecured the ready execution of juſtice to all his ſubjects; and, though his motive might not be the moſt generous for calling in the third eſtate into the national council, he by that meaſure put it in the power of the French nation to have eſtabliſhed a free government.

A.D. 1312.

A.D. 1314.

LEWIS X. ſurnamed Hutin, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, began his reign with an act of injuſtice. At the inſtigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he cauſed his prime miniſter Marigny to be executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the reſt; but in reality on account of his ſuppoſed riches, which were confiſcated to the crown.

A.D. 1315.

BUT neither the confiſcation of Marigny's effects, nor of thoſe who were ſtyled his accomplices, being ſufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences: he levied a tenth upon the clergy: he ſold enfranchiſements to the ſlaves employed in cultivating the royal domains; and when they would not purchaſe their freedom, he declared them free, whether they would or not, and levied

levied the money by force[10]! He died, like his father, after an unſucceſsful attempt upon Flanders. LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 1316

On the death of Lewis X. a violent diſpute aroſe in regard to the ſucceſſion. The king left one daughter, by his firſt wife, Margaret of Burgundy, and his queen, Clemence of Hungary, pregnant. Clemence was brought to bed of a ſon, who lived only eight days. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never deſcend to a female; (and as nations in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themſelves, are fond of grounding them on primary laws rather than on blind cuſtom,) it had been uſual to derive this maxim (though, according to the beſt antiquarians, falſely) from a clauſe in the Salian Code, the body of laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks. In conſequence of this opinion, and precedents founded on it, Philip V. ſurnamed the Long, brother to Lewis X. was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made ſome oppoſition, and aſſerted the right of his niece, the ſtates of the kingdom, by a ſolemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of France[11]. The wiſdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents thoſe evils which neceſſarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, ſo apt to make a miniſter from love, and degrade him from whim, but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never become ſovereign of France by marriage; a circumſtance always dangerous, and often productive of the moſt fatal revolutions. A.D. 1317.

10. Le Gendre. Dupleix. 11. Mezeray. Du. Tillet. P. Henault. P. Daniel.

THE

PART I.

THE reign of Philip the Long, and alſo of his brother Charles IV. ſurnamed the Fair, were both ſhort; nor was either diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Charles left only one daughter, and conſequently no heir to the crown; but as his queen was pregnant, Philip de Valois, the next male heir, was appointed
A.D. 1328. regent, with a declared right of ſucceſſion, if the iſſue ſhould prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimouſly placed on the throne of France.

THIS prince was couſin-german to the deceaſed king, and inconteſtably the neareſt heir-male deſcended from a male; but Edward III. as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſee, took up the diſpute upon other grounds. In the mean time I muſt make you acquainted with the more early part of the reign of that illuſtrious monarch.

LET-

LETTER XL.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, *and* SPAIN, *during the Reign of* EDWARD III.

LETTER XL. A.D. 1327.

THE reign of Edward III. my dear Philip, opens a wide field of obſervation, and involves whatever is great or intereſting in the hiſtory of Europe during that period. But before we enter on the foreign tranſactions of this prince, I muſt inform you of the domeſtic; and, for this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to recapitulate a little.

You have already been witneſs to the miſerable death of the ſecond Edward, by the inhuman emiſſaries of Roger Mortimer, the queen's gallant, who was become the object of public odium. The hatred of the nation daily increaſed both againſt him and queen Iſabella. Conſcious of this, they ſubjected to their vengeance whomſoever they feared, in order to ſecure their uſurped power. The earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was iniquitouſly condemned and executed; the earl of Lancaſter, Kent's brother, was thrown into priſon; and many of the prelates and nobility were proſecuted under different pretences [1].

THESE abuſes could not long eſcape the obſervation of a prince of ſo much diſcernment as young Edward, nor fail to rouſe his active ſpirit againſt the murderer of his father, and the diſhonourer of his mother. But he was beſieged in ſuch a manner by the creatures of Mortimer, that it became neceſſary to conduct the project of bringing that felon to juſtice

1. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

PART I. A. D. 1330.

with as much ſecrecy and caution as if he had been forming a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. He communicated his intentions, however, to ſome of the nobility, who readily entered into his views; and they ſurpriſed the uſurper in the caſtle of Nottingham, and dragged him from an apartment adjoining to the queen's, while ſhe, in the moſt pathetic manner, implored her ſon to ſpare the *gentle* Mortimer!—A parliament was immediately ſummoned for his condemnation; and he was ſentenced to die, from the ſuppoſed notoriety of his crimes, without any form of trial. He periſhed by the hands of the hangman, at the Elmes, near London: and the queen was confined, during life, to her houſe at Riſings; where ſhe languiſhed out twenty-five years of ſorrow rather than of penitence[2].

EDWARD having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himſelf with induſtry and judgment, to redreſs all thoſe grievances, which had either proceeded from want of authority in the crown, or the late abuſes of it. He iſſued writs to the judges, enjoining them to adminiſter juſtice, without paying any regard to the arbitrary orders of the great: and as thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree during the public convulſions, and were openly protected by the powerful barons, who made uſe of them againſt their enemies, the king ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to remedy the evil, after exacting from the peers a ſolemn promiſe in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with ſuch malefactors[3]. The miniſters of juſtice, animated by his example, employed the utmoſt diligence in diſcovering, purſuing, and pu-

A. D. 1331.

2. Knyghton. Walſingham. 3. Cotton's *Abridgment*.

niſhing

niſhing criminals: and the diſorder was by degrees corrected. LETTER XL. A.D. 133[illegible]

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious ſpirit of Edward ſought, and ſoon found, an occaſion of exerting itſelf. The wiſe and valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, was now dead, and had left David his ſon a minor, under the guardianſhip of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol, ſon of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was diſcovered in a French priſon by lord Beaumont, an Engliſh baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottiſh crown.

Many other Engliſh noblemen, who had obtained eſtates during the ſubjection of Scotland, were in the ſame ſituation with Beaumont. They alſo ſaw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their poſſeſſions by arms: and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and aſſiſtance. Edward was aſhamed to avow their enterprize. He was afraid that violence and injuſtice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with ſuperior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whoſe independent title had been ſo lately acknowledged by ſolemn treaty; but he ſecretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his aſſembling forces in the North, and gave countenance to the nobles who were diſpoſed to join him. A force of near three thouſand men was aſſembled,

PART I. A. D. 1332. with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coaſt of Fife.

SCOTLAND was now in a very different ſituation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Beſides the loſs of that great monarch, whoſe genius and authority preſerved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of reſt, had gone over to Spain in a cruſade againſt the Moors, and there periſhed in battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents; ſo that the military ſpirit of the Scots, though ſtill unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object, drove back the Scots who oppoſed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his ſmall party defeated an army of forty thouſand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thouſand are ſaid to have been ſlain.

BALIOL, ſoon after this victory, made himſelf maſter of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was ſent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, ſiſter to king Edward. Scotland was ſubdued by a handful of men; but Baliol loſt the kingdom by a revolution as ſudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence, or his neceſſities, making him diſmiſs part of his Engliſh followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed: his brother John Baliol was ſlain;

LETTER XL.

ſlain; and he himſelf was chaſed into England in a miſerable plight [4].

A.D. 1332.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourſe to the Engliſh monarch, without whoſe aſſiſtance he was now become ſenſible he could neither recover nor keep poſſeſſion of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's ſuperiority; to renew the homage for Scotland; and to eſpouſe the princeſs Jane, if the pope's conſent could be obtained for diſſolving her former marriage, which was not yet conſummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important ſuperiority relinquiſhed by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinſtate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but leſs united, and worſe ſupplied with arms and proviſions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; where about thirty thouſand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken priſoners [5].

A.D. 1333.

After this fatal blow, the Scottiſh nobles had no reſource but in ſubmiſſion. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh; the ſuperiority of England was again recognized: many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a conſiderable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, returned to England with the remainder of his army. But the Engliſh forces were no ſooner withdrawn, than the Scots revolted againſt Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again

A.D. 1334.

4. Heming. Knyghton. Walſingham. Buchanan. Fordun.
5. Ibid.

PART I. A. D. 1335. obliged to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels. But this severity only confirmed them more in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they soon re-conquered A. D. 1336. their country from the English. Edward made anew his appearance in Scotland, and with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken or subdued. Besides being supported by their pride and anger, passions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect a division of the force which had so long overwhelmed and oppressed them[6].

These transactions naturally bring us back to Edward's claim to the crown of France; on which depended the most memorable events, not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history, during more than a century. A notion weaker or worse grounded than that claim cannot well be imagined. He admitted the general principle, that females could not inherit the crown of France. But, in so doing, he only set aside his mother's right, to establish his own; for although he acknowledged females incapable of inheriting, he asserted that males descending from females were liable to no such objec-

6. Rymer, vol. iv. Leland's *Collect.* vol. ii. W. Heming. T. Walsingham.

tion,

tion, but might claim by right of propinquity. This plea, however, was not only more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from a daughter of Lewis X. but contrary to the established rules of succession in every European country. Edward's claim was therefore disregarded, and the title of Philip of Valois universally recognized and acknowledged[7]. A.D. 1336.

But although the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this false idea, he did not carry his pretensions so far as to engage in hostilities with so powerful a monarch as Philip VI. On the contrary, he went over to Amiens, and did homage for Guienne[8]. By that compliance he indirectly acknowledged Philip's title to the crown of France. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it probably would never have been further thought of, had it not been for some incidents which afterwards excited an animosity between the two monarchs.

Robert of Artois, a prince of great talents and credit, who had married Philip's sister, had fallen into disgrace at the court of France. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. He came over to England, and was favourably received by Edward. Now resigning himself to all the movements of rage and revenge, Robert endeavoured to revive in the mind of the English monarch his supposed title to the crown of France; and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of A.D. 1337

7. Froissard, tom. i. D. Specileg. tom. iii. 8. Rymer, vol. iv.

PART I. A. D. 1337.

his valour and abilities to render his claim effectual. "I made Philip de Valois king of France," added he; "and with your aſſiſtance, I will depoſe him for his "ingratitude[9]."

EDWARD was the more diſpoſed to liſten to ſuch ſuggeſtions, as he had reaſon to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and becauſe that monarch had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their ſtruggles for independency. Reſentment gradually filled the breaſts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation. Philip thought he ſhould be wanting to the firſt principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland; and Edward pretended that he muſt renounce all claim to generoſity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both ſides, and great preparations were made for war.

ON the ſide of England was the count of Hainault, the king's father-in-law, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Guelders, the marquis of Juliers, and the count of Namur. Theſe princes could ſupply, either from their own ſtates, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops: and nothing was wanting to make Edward's alliance on that quarter truly formidable but the acceſſion of Flanders, which he obtained by means ſomewhat extraordinary.

THE Flemings, the firſt people in the north of Europe that ſucceſsfully cultivated arts and manufac-

9. Froiſſard, liv. i. *Mem. de Robert d'Artois.*

tures,

tures, began now to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, or rather ſlavery, into which the common people had been univerſally thrown by the abuſes of the feudal polity; and the lower claſs of men among them had riſen to a degree of riches unknown elſewhere to thoſe of their ſtation in that comparatively barbarous age. It was impoſſible for ſuch men not to reſent any act of tyranny; and acts of tyranny were likely to be practiſed by a ſovereign and nobility accuſtomed to domineer. They had riſen in tumults: they had inſulted the nobles, and driven their earl into France [10].

In every ſuch revolution there is always ſome leader or demagogue, to whoſe guidance the people blindly deliver themſelves. And on his character entirely depends the happineſs or miſery of thoſe who have put themſelves under his care; for every ſuch man has it in his power to be a deſpot: ſo narrow are the boundaries between liberty and ſlavery!—The preſent leader of the Flemings was James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more abſolute ſway than had ever been aſſumed by any of their lawful ſovereigns. He placed and diſplaced the magiſtrates at pleaſure. He was conſtantly attended by a guard; who, on the leaſt ſignal from him, inſtantly aſſaſſinated any man that happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his ſpies; and it was immediate death to give him the ſmalleſt umbrage. This was the man to whom Edward addreſſed himſelf for bringing over the Flemings to his intereſts [11].

10. Froiſſard, liv. i.

11. Id. ibid.

PROUD

PART I. A. D. 1338.

PROUD of advances from ſo great a prince, and ſenſible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the Engliſh, on account of the advantages of trade, their demagogue readily embraced the cauſe of Edward, and invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward repaired to Flanders, attended by ſeveral of his nobility, and a body of Engliſh forces; but before the Flemings, who were vaſſals of France, would take up arms againſt their liege lord, Edward was obliged to aſſume the title of king of France, and to challenge their aſſiſtance for dethroning Philip de Valois, the uſurper of his kingdom [12]. This ſtep, which was taken by the advice of d'Arteville, as he knew it would produce an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs, (a further motive for his joining the cauſe of Edward) gave riſe to that animoſity which the Engliſh and French nations, but more eſpecially the former, have ever ſince borne againſt each other; an animoſity which had, for ſome centuries, ſo viſible an influence on all their tranſactions, and which ſtill continues to inflame the heart of many an honeſt Engliſhman.

LET philoſophers blame this prejudice as inconſiſtent with the liberality of the human mind; let moraliſts mourn its ſeverity, and weak politicians lament its deſtructive rage—you, my dear Philip, as a lover of your country, will ever, I hope, revere a paſſion that has ſo often given victory to the arms of England, and humbled her haughty rival; which has preſerved, and continues to preſerve the independency of Great Britain!

THE French monarch made great preparations againſt the attack from the Engliſh; and his foreign

[12]. W. Heming. T. Walſingham. Rymer, vol. v.

alliances

LETTER XL.

alliances were both more natural and powerful than thoſe which were formed by his antagoniſt. The king of Navarre, the duke of Britanny, the count of Bar, were entirely in the intereſts of Philip; and on the ſide of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Lorraine and Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. A mighty army was brought into the field on both ſides. Conferences and mutual defiances, however, were all that the firſt campaign produced; and Edward, diſtreſſed for want of money, was obliged to diſband his army, and return to England [13]. A.D. 1338. A.D. 1339.

But this illuſtrious prince had too much ſpirit to be diſcouraged by the firſt difficulties of an undertaking. He was anxious to retrieve his honour by more ſucceſsful and more gallant enterprizes: and next ſeaſon proved ſomewhat more fortunate. The Engliſh, under the command of Edward, gained an important advantage over the French by ſea. Two hundred and thirty French ſhips were taken, thirty thouſand Frenchmen were killed with two of their admirals. The luſtre of this victory increaſed the king's reputation among his allies, who aſſembled their forces with expedition, and joined the Engliſh army; and Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thouſand men. The French monarch had collected an army ſtill more numerous; yet he continued to adhere to the prudent reſolution he had formed, of putting nothing to hazard, hoping by that means to weary out the enemy. This conduct had in ſome meaſure the deſired effect. Edward, fatigued with fruitleſs ſieges, and irritated at the diſagreeable proſpect A.D. 1340.

13. Froiſſard, ubi ſup. W. Heming. T. Walſingham.

that

PART I. A. D. 1340.

that lay before him, challenged Philip to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat; by an action of one hundred againſt one hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied with his uſual coolneſs, that it did not become a vaſſal to challenge his liege lord; and Edward found it neceſſary to conclude a truce for one year [14].

THIS truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a ſolid peace, and Edward would have dropped his claim, had not an unexpected circumſtance opened to him more promiſing views, and given his enterpriſing genius a full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. The count de Mountfort, the heir male of Britanny, had ſeized that duchy in oppoſition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who had married the daughter of the late duke. Senſible that he A. D. 1341. could expect no favour from Philip, Mountfort made a voyage to England, on pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and then offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Britanny, he propoſed a ſtrict alliance for the ſupport of each other's pretenſions.

LITTLE negociation was neceſſary to conclude a treaty betwen two princes connected by their immediate intereſts. But the captivity of the count de Mountfort, which happened ſoon after, ſeemed to put an end to all the advantages naturally to be expected from ſuch an alliance. The affairs of Britanny, however, were unexpectedly retrieved by Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Mountfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of her time. Rouſed by the captivity of her huſband

14. Ibid.

from

LETTER XL.

A.D. 1342.

from thoſe domeſtic cares to which ſhe had hitherto confined herſelf, ſhe boldly undertook to ſupport the fallen fortunes of her family. She went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and, after having put the whole province in a good poſture, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebone, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours, which Edward had promiſed her.

CHARLES of Blois, anxious to make himſelf maſter of this important fortreſs, and ſtill more to get poſſeſſion of the perſon of the counteſs, ſat down before the place with a great army, and conducted the attack with indefatigable induſtry. The defence was no leſs vigorous. The beſiegers were repulſed in every aſſault. Frequent ſallies were made by the garriſon; and the counteſs herſelf being the moſt forward on all occaſions, every one was aſhamed not to exert himſelf to the utmoſt. The reiterated attacks of the beſiegers, however, had at length made ſeveral breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general aſſault, which was dreaded every hour, might bear down the garriſon. It became neceſſary to treat of a capitulation: and the biſhop of Laon was already engaged in a conference on that ſubject with Charles of Blois, when the counteſs, who had mounted a high tower, and was anxiouſly looking towards the ſea for relief, deſcried ſome ſails at a diſtance. "Behold "the ſuccours!" exclaimed ſhe;—"the Engliſh ſuc-"cours!—No capitulation." They conſiſted of ſix thouſand archers, and ſome cavalry, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the braveſt captains of England; and having entered the harbour, and inſpired freſh courage into the garriſon, immediately

PART I. A.D. 1342. ately ſallied forth, beat the beſiegers from their poſts, and obliged them to decamp [15].

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucce[ſs] the troops under Sir Walter Manny were found inſufficient for the ſupport of the counteſs of Mountfort, who was ſtill ready to be over-powered by numbers. Edward therefore ſent over a reinforcement under Robert of Artois, and afterwards went to her aſſiſtance in perſon. Robert was killed in the defence of Vannes: and Edward
A.D. 1343. concluded a truce of three years, on honourable terms, for himſelf and the counteſs.

THIS truce, however, was of much ſhorter duration than the term ſpecified in the articles, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. The Engliſh parliament entered
A.D. 1344. warmly into the quarrel, adviſed the king not to be amuſed by a fraudulent truce, and granted him ſupplies for the renewal of hoſtilities. The eal of Der-
A.D. 1345. by was ſent over for the protection of Guienne, where he behaved with great gallantry; and Edward invad-
A.D. 1346. ed Normandy with an army of thirty thouſand men. He took ſeveral towns, and ravaged the whole province, carrying his excurſions even to the gates of Paris. At length Philip advanced againſt him at the head of an hundred thouſand men; and Edward, afraid of being ſurrounded in the enemy's country, retreated towards Flanders [16].

IN this retreat happened the famous paſſage of the Somme, which was followed by the ſtill more celebrated battle of Creſſy.—When Edward approached the Somme, he found all the bridges either broken

15. Froiſſard, liv. i. 16. R. de Averburg. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

down

down or ſtrongly guarded. An army of twenty thouſand men, under the command of Godamar de Faye, was ſtationed on the oppoſite bank; and Philip was advancing on him, at the ſame time, from behind. In this extremity he was informed of a place that was fordable: he haſtened thither, but ſaw de Faye ready to obſtruct his paſſage. A man of leſs reſolution, or more coolneſs, would have heſitated: Edward deliberated not a moment, but threw himſelf into the river ſword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their ſtation, and purſued them to a diſtance on the plain. Philip and his forces arrived at the ford, when the rear-guard of the Engliſh army was paſſing; and the riſing of the tide only prevented that incenſed monarch from following them. On the lapſe of ſo few moments depended the fate of Edward!—and theſe, by his celerity, were turned from ruin into victory: yet if he had been unfortunate in his paſſage, or if the French army had arrived ſomewhat ſooner, how many pretended philoſophers would have told us that he was an inconſiderate prince, and the attempt would have been branded as abſurd!—So much, my dear Philip, does the reputation of events depend on ſucceſs, and the characters of men on the ſituations in which they are engaged.

LETTER XL. A. D. 1346.

EDWARD by this fortunate paſſage gained ſome ground of the enemy, as Philip was obliged to take his route by the bridge of Abbeville; but he ſtill ſaw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of expoſing his rear to the inſults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore embraced the prudent reſolution of waiting the arrival of the enemy, and choſe his ground advantageouſly near the village of Creſſy; where

PART I. A. D. 1346.

where he drew up his army in excellent order, and divided it into three lines. The first line was commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour; the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the king himself took the direction of the third, which was intended as an auxiliary force. The French army, which now consisted of above an hundred and twenty thousand men, was also formed into three lines; but as Philip had made a hasty and confused march from Abbeville, the troops were fatigued and disordered. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: the second was led by the count of Alençon; and the king in

Aug. 26.

person was at the head of the third. The battle began about three o'clock, and continued till towards evening; when the whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword with great slaughter, till the darkness of night put an end to the pursuit. Almost forty thousand of the French were slain, among whom were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen. On his return to the camp Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. "My "brave son!" cried he, "persevere in your honour-"able course. You are my son! for valiantly have "acquitted yourself to-day. You have shewn your-"self worthy of empire [17]."

THIS victory is partly ascribed to some pieces of artillery, which Edward is said to have planted in his

17. Froissard, lib. i. Walsingham. Knyghton. Averburg. front,

front, and which gave great alarm to the enemy[18]; but we cannot suppose they did much execution. The invention was yet in its infancy; and cannon were at first so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that they were rather incumbrances, than those terrible instruments of desolation which we now behold them. They had never before been made use of on any memorable occasion in Europe. This may therefore be regarded as the æra of one of the most important discoveries that has been made among men: a discovery which changed by degrees the whole military science, and of course many circumstances in the political government of Europe; which has brought nations more on a level; has made success in war a matter of calculation; and though seemingly contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and conquests less frequent, by giving greater security to states, and interesting the passions of men less in the struggle for victory.

LETTER XL. A.D. 1346.

A WEAK mind is elated with the smallest success: a great spirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, instead of expecting, that the victory at Cressy would be immediately followed by the total subjection of the disputed kingdom, seemed rather to moderate his views. He prudently limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; by which he hoped to secure such an easy entrance into France, as might afterwards open the way to more considerable advantages. He therefore marched thither with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

18. Villani, lib. xii.

IN

PART I. A.D. 1346. In the mean time David Bruce, king of Scotland, whom his countrymen had recalled, was ſtrongly ſolicited by his ally, Philip, to invade the northern counties of England. He accordingly aſſembled a great army, and carried his ravages as far as Durham. He was Oct. 17. there met by queen Philippa, at the head of a body of twelve thouſand men, which ſhe committed to the command of lord Percy. A fierce engagement enſued; and the Scots were broken and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter. Fifteen thouſand of them were ſlain, among whom were the chancellor and earl-marſhal. The king himſelf was was taken priſoner, together with many of the principal nobility [19].

As ſoon as Philippa had ſecured her royal priſoner, ſhe croſſed the ſea at Dover, and was received in the Engliſh camp before Calais with all the eclat due to her rank, her merit, and her ſucceſs. This was the age of chivalry and gallantry. Edward's courtiers excelled in theſe accompliſhments no leſs than in policy and war; and the extraordinary qualities of the women of thoſe times, the neceſſary conſequence of reſpectful admiration, form the beſt apology for the ſuperſtitious devotion which was then paid to the A.D. 1347. ſofter ſex. Calais was taken, after an obſtinate ſiege of almoſt twelve months. The inhabitants were expelled: and it was peopled anew with Engliſh ſubjects, and made the ſtaple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief commodities of England, and the only ones for which there was yet any demand in foreign markets. A truce was ſoon afterwards concluded with

19. Averburg. Knyghton. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

France,

France, through the mediation of the pope's legate, and Edward returned in triumph to England[29]. LETTER XL. A. D. 1348.

HERE a few obſervations ſeem neceſſary. The great ſucceſs of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a ſtrong emulation among the Engliſh nobility; and their animoſity againſt France, and reſpect to their prince, had given a new and more uſeful direction to that ambition, which had ſo often been turned by thoſe turbulent barons againſt the crown, or which diſcharged its fury on their fellow-ſubjects. This prevailing ſpirit was farther promoted by the inſtitution of the military Order of the Garter, in emulation of A. D. 1350. ſome orders of knighthood of a like nature, which had been eſtabliſhed in different parts of Europe.—A ſtory prevails, though not ſupported by ancient authority, that Edward's miſtreſs, commonly ſuppoſed to be the counteſs of Saliſbury, dropped her garter at a court ball; that the king ſtooped, and took it up; when obſerving ſome of his courtiers to ſmile, as if they had ſuſpected another intention, he held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe:* "Evil "to him that evil thinks!"—And as every incident of gallantry in thoſe times was magnified into a matter of importance, he inſtituted the Order of the Garter in commemoration of this event, though not without political views, and gave theſe words as the motto of the order. Frivolous as ſuch an origin may ſeem, it is perfectly ſuitable to the manners of that age; and, as a profound hiſtorian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account either for the ſeemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter,

29. Ibid.

PART I. which appears to have no reference to any purpose, either of military uſe or ornament[21].

A DAMP, however, was ſuddenly thrown over the triumphant feſtivity of the Engliſh court, by a deſtructive peſtilence, which about this time invaded Britain, after having deſolated the greateſt part of the earth. It made its appearance firſt in the north of Aſia; encircled all that vaſt continent; viſited Africa; made its progreſs from one end of Europe to the other; and is computed to have ſwept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country through which it paſſed. Above fifty thouſand ſouls are ſaid to have periſhed by it in London alone. This grievous calamity, more than the pacific diſpoſition of the princes, ſerved to prolong the truce between England and France.

A.D. 1350. DURING this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of France, which his unſucceſsful war with England had thrown into much diſorder. This monarch had, during the firſt years of his reign, obtained the appellation of *Fortunate*, and acquired the character of *Prudent*: but he ill maintained either the one or the other; leſs indeed from his own fault, than becauſe he was overmatched by the ſuperior fortune and ſuperior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his ſon John, gave the French cauſe to lament even the calamitous times of Philip. John was diſtinguiſhed by many virtues, but particularly by a ſcrupulous honour and fidelity. He was not deficient in perſonal

21. Hume, *Hiſt. England*, chap. xv.

courage;

courage; but as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions, and oppressed by foreign wars. LETTER XL.

THE principal author of these calamities was Charles king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. He was descended from males of the blood royal of France. His mother was daughter of Lewis X. and he had himself married a daughter of the reigning king; but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. He secretly entered into a correspondence with the king of England; and he seduced, by his address, Charles, afterwards surnamed the Wise, the king of France's eldest son, and the first who bore the title of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. This young prince, however, made sensible of the danger and folly of such connections, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving decisive in restoring the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a pos- A. D. 1355.

PART I. ture of defence: and they had immediate recourse to
A.D. 1355. England in this desperate extremity [22].

THE truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French malcontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of the English, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy.

THE prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of
A.D. 1356. the first campaign, took the field with an army of only twelve thousand men; and with that small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected an army of sixty thousand combatants, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days, on his march, before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French monarch an opportunity of overtaking him. The pursuers came within
Sept. 19. sight at Maupertuis, near Poictiers; and young Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have saved him, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. John's superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the English camp, and by intercepting all provisions, to reduce the prince to the necessity of surrendering at

22. Froissard, liv. i.

discretion.

LETTER XL.

A.D. 1356.

diſcretion. But the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from ſtriking any of the commanders; ſo that they immediately took meaſures for the aſſault, with full aſſurance of victory. But they found themſelves miſerably miſtaken. The Engliſh adventurers received them with deſperate valour, put their army to flight, and took their king priſoner.

The Black Prince, who had been carried away in purſuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was repoſing himſelf after the toils of battle, when informed of the fate of the French monarch. John had long refuſed to ſurrender himſelf to any one, but his "couſin the prince of Wales [23]." Here commences the real, and unexampled heroiſm, of young Edward—the triumph of humanity and moderation over inſolence and pride, in the heart of a young warrior, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected ſucceſs as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and ſympathy; adminiſtered comfort to him amidſt his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a ſuperior Providence, which controuls all the efforts of human force and prudence. He ordered a repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner; and he himſelf ſerved at the captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. All his father's pretenſions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion. John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on the throne of Clovis. His misfortunes, not his right, were reſpected: and the

23. Rymer, vol. vi. Froiſſard, liv. i.

PART I. A.D. 1356.

French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by the English arms, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by reflection, that such exalted heroism in an enemy must make him doubly dangerous to the independence of their native country [24].

A.D. 1357.

THE prince of Wales conducted his royal prisoner to Bourdeaux; and, after concluding a truce for two years, brought him over to England. Here the king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with, had the melancholy consolation of meeting a brother in affliction. The king of Scotland had been for eleven years a captive in the hands of Edward, whose superior genius and fortune had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he was engaged in war, to the condition of prisoners in his capital. Finding, however, that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, Edward consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling; and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility, as hostages for the payment [25].

MEANWHILE the captivity of the French monarch, joined to the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violences ever experienced in any age or country. The Dauphin, now about nineteen years of age, naturally assumed the reins of government during his father's captivity; but although endowed with an excellent judgment, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor ability sufficient to

24. Froissard, ubi sup.

25. Rymer, vol. i.

remedy

remedy the prevailing evils. In order to obtain supplies, he aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom. But that national aſſembly, inſtead of ſupporting his adminiſtration, were themſelves ſeized with the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs; and laid hold of the preſent opportunity to demand limitations of the regal power, the puniſhment of paſt malverſations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, and firſt magiſtrate of that city, put himſelf at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, puſhed them to commit the moſt criminal outrages againſt the royal authority. They detained the Dauphin in a kind of captivity: they murdered in his preſence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareſchals of France: they threatened all the other miniſters with the like fate; and when Charles, who had been obliged to temporize and diſſemble, made his eſcape from their hands, they levied war againſt him, and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, ſhook off the Dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and ſpread the contagion into every province. The wild ſtate of nature ſeemed to be renewed in the boſom of ſociety: every man was thrown looſe and independent of his fellow-citizens.

LETTER XL.

A. D. 1358.

THE nobles, whoſe inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had loſt all their influence. The troops, who could no longer be retained in diſcipline, by reaſon of the want of pay, throwing off all regard to their officers, ſought the means of ſubſiſtence by pillage and robbery; and aſſociating with them all the diſorderly people, with whom that age abounded, infeſted

PART I. A. D. 1358.

feſted every quarter of the kingdom in numerous bodies. They deſolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or ſubſiſtence, reduced to neceſſity even the inhabitants of the fortified towns.

THE peaſants, formerly oppreſſed, and now left unprotected by their maſters, became deſperate from their preſent miſery; and riſing every where in arms, carried to the laſt extremity thoſe diſorders, which were derived from the ſedition of the citizens and diſbanded ſoldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where expoſed to the violence of popular rage; and, inſtead of meeting with the reſpect due to their rank, became only, on that account, the object of more wanton inſult to the mutinous ruſtics. They were hunted like wild beaſts, and put to the ſword without mercy. Their caſtles were conſumed with fire, and levelled with the ground; while their wives and daughters were ſubject to violation, and then murdered.

A BODY of nine thouſand of theſe ſavage boors broke into Meaux, where the wife of the Dauphin, the ducheſs of Orleans, and above three hundred other ladies had taken ſhelter. The moſt brutal treatment and fatal conſequences were apprehended by this fair and helpleſs company; when the count de Foix and the captal de Buche, with the aſſiſtance of only ſixty knights, animated with the true ſpirit of chivalry, flew to the reſcue of the ladies, and beat off the brutal and rapacious peaſants with great ſlaughter [26].

AMIDST theſe diſorders the king of Navarre made his eſcape from priſon, and preſented a dangerous leader to the furious malcontents. He revived his pre-

26. Froiſſard, liv. i. St. Pelaye *ſur l'Ancien Chivalrie.*

tenſions

tenſions to the crown of France; but in all his operations he acted more like a captain of banditti than one who aſpired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his ſtation to endeavour the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the community. All the French, therefore, who wiſhed to reſtored peace to their deſolated country, turned their eyes towards the Dauphin; who, though not remarkable for his military talents, daily gained by his prudence and vigilance, the aſcendant over his enemies. Marcel, the ſeditious provoſt of Paris, was ſlain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty: the moſt conſiderable bodies of the mutinous peaſants were diſperſed, or put to the ſword; ſome bands of military robbers underwent the ſame fate, and France began once more to aſſume the appearance of civil government [27].

LETTER XL.

A. D. 1358.

EDWARD appeared to have a favourable opportunity of puſhing his conqueſts, during the confuſion in the Dauphin's affairs; but his hands were tied by the truce, and the ſtate of the Engliſh finances made a ceſſation of arms neceſſary. The truce, however, no ſooner expired than he invaded France anew with the whole military force of England. He ravaged the country without oppoſition; pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others; but finding that he could not ſubſiſt his army in a kingdom waſted by foreign and domeſtic enemies, he prudently concluded the peace of Bretigni, which ſeemed to ſecure eſſential advantages to his crown. By this peace, it was ſtipulated, that John ſhould pay three millions of crowns of gold for his ranſom; that Edward ſhould for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and

A. D. 1359.

A. D. 1360.

27. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

to

PART I. A.D. 1360. to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors; in exchange for which he ſhould receive the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Angenois, Perigord, the Limouſin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other diſtricts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guiſnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other ſide of France; that the full ſovereignty of theſe provinces, as well as of Guienne, ſhould be veſted in the crown of England; and that France ſhould renounce all title to feudal juriſdiction, homage, or appeal from them [28].

In conſequence of this treaty, the king of France was reſtored to his liberty; but many difficulties ariſing with reſpect to the execution of ſome of the articles, he took the honourable reſolution of coming over A.D. 1363. to England in perſon, in order to adjuſt them. His council endeavoured to diſſuade him from this deſign, which they repreſented as raſh and impolitic; and inſinuated, that he ought to elude as far as poſſible the execution of ſo diſadvantageous a treaty. "Though "juſtice and good faith," replied John, "were ba- "niſhed from the reſt of the earth, they ought ſtill to "retain their habitation in the breaſts of princes!" And he accordingly came over to his former lodg- A.D. 1364. ings in the Savoy; where he ſoon after ſickened, and died [29].

John was ſucceeded in the throne of France by his ſon, Charles V. a prince educated in the ſchool of adverſity, and well qualified, by his prudence and experience, to repair the loſſes which the kingdom had ſuſtained from the errors of his predeceſſors. Con-

28. Rymer, vol. vi.

29. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

trary

trary to the practice of all the great princes of thoſe times, who held nothing in eſtimation but military courage, he ſeems to have laid it down as a maxim, never to appear at the head of his armies. He was the firſt European monarch, that ſhewed the advantage of policy and foreſight over a raſh and precipitate valour. LETTER XL. A. D. 1364.

BEFORE Charles could think of counterbalancing ſo great a power as England, it was neceſſary for him to remedy the many diſorders to which his own kingdom was expoſed. He accordingly turned his arms againſt the king of Navarre, the great diſturber of France during that age; and he defeated that prince, and reduced him to terms, by the valour and conduct of Bertrand du Gueſclin, one of the moſt accompliſhed captains of thoſe times, whom Charles had the diſcernment to chuſe as the inſtrument of his victories. He alſo ſettled the affairs of Britanny, by acknowledging the title of Mountfort, and receiving homage for his dominions. But much was yet to do. A. D. 1365.

ON the concluſion of the peace of Bretigni, a multitude of military adventurers, who had followed the proſperous fortunes of Edward, being diſperſed into the ſeveral provinces of France, and poſſeſſed of ſtrongholds, refuſed to lay down their arms, or relinquiſh a courſe of life to which they were now accuſtomed, and by which alone they could earn a ſubſiſtence. They therefore aſſociated themſelves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of *Companies* and *Companions*, became a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Some Engliſh and Gaſcon gentlemen of character were not aſhamed to take the command of theſe ruffians, whoſe number amounted to near forty thouſand, and who bore

the

PART I. A.D. 1365.

the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers[30]. As Charles was not able by force to redreſs ſo enormous a grievance, he was led by neceſſity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; to diſcover ſome method of diſcharging into foreign countries this dangerous and inteſtine evil. And an occaſion now offered.

ALPHONSO XI. king of Caſtile, who took the city of Algezira from the Moors, after a famous ſiege of two years, had been ſucceeded, in 1350, by his ſon Peter I. ſurnamed the Cruel; a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign with the murder of his father's miſtreſs, Leonora de Guſman: his nobles fell every day the victims of his ſeverity: he put to death his couſin, and one of his natural brothers, from groundleſs jealouſy; and he cauſed his queen, Blanche de Bourbon, of the blood royal of France, to be thrown into priſon, and afterwards poiſoned, that he might enjoy in quiet the embraces of Mary de Padella, with whom he was violently enamoured.

HENRY, count of Traſtamara, the king of Spain's natural brother, alarmed at the fate of his family, and
A.D. 1366. dreading his own, took arms againſt the tyrant; but having failed in the attempt, he fled into France, where he found the minds of men inflamed againſt Peter, on account of the murder of the French princeſs. He aſked permiſſion of Charles to enliſt the *Companies* in his ſervice, and to lead them into Caſtile againſt his brother. The French monarch, charmed with the project, employed du Gueſclin in negociating with the leaders of theſe banditti. The treaty was ſoon concluded: and du Gueſclin having completed his levies, led the army firſt to Avignon, where the pope then reſided,

30. Ibid.

and

and demanded, ſword in hand, abſolution for his ruffian ſoldiers, who had been excommunicated, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres, for their ſubſiſtence. The firſt was readily promiſed him; but ſome difficulty being made with reſpect to the ſecond, du Gueſclin replied, "My fellows, I believe, may make "a ſhift to do without your abſolution: but the mo-"ney is abſolutely neceſſary." His Holineſs now extorted from the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres, and offered it to du Gueſclin. "It is not my purpoſe," ſaid that generous warrior, "to oppreſs the innocent "people. The pope and his cardinals can ſpare me "double the ſum from their own pockets. I there-"fore inſiſt, that this money be reſtored to the own-"ers: and if I hear they are defrauded of it, I will "myſelf return from the other ſide of the Pyrenees, "and oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope found the neceſſity of ſubmitting, and paid from his own treaſury the ſum demanded [31]. Thus hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils of the church, du Gueſclin and his army proceeded on their expedition!

LETTER XL.

A.D. 1366.

A BODY of experienced and hardy ſoldiers, conducted by ſo able a general, eaſily prevailed over the king of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects were ready to join the enemy againſt their oppreſſor. Peter fled from his dominions, took ſhelter in Guienne, and craved the protection of the Black Prince, whom the king of England had inveſted with the ſovereignty of the ceded provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitaine. The prince promiſed his aſſiſtance to the dethroned monarch; and having obtained his father's conſent, he levied an army, and ſet out on his enterprize.

A.D. 1367.

31. *Hiſt. du Gueſclin.*

PART I. A. D. 1367.

THE firſt loſs which Henry of Traſtamara ſuffered from the interpoſition of the prince of Wales, was the recalling of the *Companies* from his ſervice: and ſo much reverence did they pay to the name of Edward, that great numbers of them immediately withdrew from Spain, and inliſted under his ſtandard. Henry, however, beloved by his new ſubjects, and ſupported by the king of Arragon, was able to meet the enemy with an army of one hundred thouſand men, three times the number of thoſe commanded by the Black Prince: yet du Gueſclin, and all his experienced officers, adviſed him to delay a deciſive action; ſo high was their opinion of the valour and conduct of the Engliſh hero!—But Henry, truſting to his numbers, ventured to give Edward battle on the banks of the Ebro, between Najara and Navarette; where the French and Spaniards were defeated, with the loſs of above twenty thouſand men, and du Gueſclin and other officers of diſtinction taken priſoners. All Caſtile ſubmitted to the victor: Peter was reſtored to the throne; and Edward returned to Guienne with his uſual glory; having not only overcome the greateſt general of his age, but reſtrained the moſt blood-thirſty tyrant from executing vengeance on his priſoners [32].

BUT this gallant warrior had ſoon reaſon to repent his connections with a prince like Peter, loſt to all ſenſe of virtue and honour. That ungrateful monſter refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces. Edward abandoned him. He treated his ſubjects with the utmoſt barbarity; their animoſity was rouſed againſt him; and du Gueſclin, having obtained his ranſom, returned to Caſtile with the count of Traſtamara, and ſome forces levied anew in France. They were joined by the Spaniſh malcontents; and having no longer

32. Froiſſard, liv. i.

the

the ſuperior genius, and the ſuperior fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, they gained a complete victory over Peter in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant now took refuge in a caſtle, where he was ſoon after beſieged by the victors, and taken priſoner, in endeavouring to make his eſcape. He was conducted to his brother Henry; againſt whom he is ſaid to have ruſhed, in a tranſport of rage, diſarmed as he was. Henry ſlew him with his own hand, in reſentment of his cruelties; and, though a baſtard, was honoured with the crown of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity [33]. LETTER XL. A.D. 1368.

In the mean time the affairs of the Black Prince were fallen into ſome diſorder. He had involved himſelf ſo much in debt by his Spaniſh expedition, that he found it neceſſary, on his return, to impoſe on his foreign principality a new tax, which ſome of the nobility paid with extreme reluctance, and to which others abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their lord paramount; and, as the renunciations agreed to in the treaty of Bretigni had never been made, Charles ſeized this opportunity, to renew his claim of ſuperiority over the Engliſh provinces [34]. In this reſolution he was encouraged by the declining years of Edward III. and the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health: he therefore ſent the prince a ſummons to appear in his court at Paris, and juſtify his conduct towards his vaſſals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris, but it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. War was renewed between France and Eng- A.D. 1369.

33. Id. ibid. 34. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

PART I. land, and with ſingular reverſe of fortune. The low ſtate of the prince of Wales's health not permitting him to exert his uſual activity, the French were victorious in almoſt every action; and when he was obliged, by his A.D. 1370. increaſing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the Engliſh went to total ruin on the continent. They were ſtript, in a few years, of all their ancient poſſeſſions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and of all their conqueſts, except Calais[35].

THESE misfortunes abroad were followed by the decay of the king's authority at home. This was chiefly occaſioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, whoſe influence over him had given ſuch general diſguſt, as to become the object of a parliamentary remonſtrance. The indolence naturally attendant on years and infirmities, had alſo made Edward reſign the adminiſtration into the hands of his ſon, the duke of Lancaſter, whoſe unpopular manners and proceedings weakened extremely the affections of the Engliſh to their ſove-
A.D. 1371. reign. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died; leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw luſtre on the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory. The king ſurvived that melancholy incident only about twelve months. He expired in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign; one of the longeſt and moſt glorious in the Engliſh annals. His latter days were indeed ſomewhat obſcured, by the infirmities and the follies of old age; but he was no ſooner dead than the people of England were ſenſible of their irreparable loſs, and poſterity conſiders him as the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince of his time.

35. Ibid.

THE

LETTER XL.

A. D. 1371.

THE domeſtic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his adminiſtration, England enjoyed a longer term of interior peace and tranquillity than it had been bleſt with in any former period, or than it experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiouſneſs. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generoſity, made them ſubmit with pleaſure to his dominion: his valour and conduct made them ſucceſsful in moſt military enterprizes; and their unquiet ſpirits, directed againſt a public enemy, had no leiſure to breed thoſe private feuds to which they were naturally ſo much diſpoſed. This internal tranquillity was the chief benefit that England derived from Edward's continental expeditions: and the miſeries of the reign of his ſucceſſor made the nation fully ſenſible of the value of the bleſſing.

BUT before I ſpeak of the adminiſtration of Richard II. the unhappy ſon of the Black Prince, I muſt carry forward the affairs of the German empire. At preſent, however, it will be proper to obſerve, That the French monarch, Charles V. whoſe prudent conduct had acquired him the ſurname of *Wiſe*, died ſoon after Edward III. while he was attempting to expel the Engliſh from the few places which they ſtill retained in France, and left his kingdom to a minor ſon of the ſame name, Charles VI. ſo that England and France were now both under the government of minors. And both experienced the miſfortunes of a turbulent and divided regency.

LETTER XLI.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Election of* LEWIS *of* BAVARIA *to the Death of* CHARLES IV.

LETTER XLI.

WE now, my dear Philip, approach to that æra in the hiſtory of the German empire, when the famous conſtitution, called the Golden Bull, was eſtabliſhed; which, among other things, ſettled the number and the rights of the electors, as yet uncertain, and productive of many diſorders.

HENRY VII. as you have already ſeen, ſtruggled hard to recover the ſovereignty of Italy; but he died before he was able to accompliſh his purpoſe. His death was followed by an interregnum of fourteen months, which were employed in the intrigues of Lewis of Bavaria, and of Frederick the Handſome, duke of Auſtria. Lewis was elected by the greater
A. D. 1315. number of the princes; but Frederick being choſen and ſupported by a faction, diſputed the empire with him. A furious civil war, which long deſolated both Italy and Germany, was the conſequence of this oppoſition. At
A. D. 1319. laſt the two competitors met near Muldorf, and agreed to decide their important diſpute by thirty champions, fifteen againſt fifteen. The champions accordingly engaged in preſence of both armies, and fought with ſuch fury, that in a ſhort time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Auſtrians were worſted. But this victory was not deciſive. Frederick ſoon repaired his loſs, and even ravaged Bavaria. The Bavarian aſſembled a powerful
A. D. 1322. army, in order to oppoſe his rival; and the battle of Vechivis, in which the duke of Auſtria was taken

priſoner, fixed the imperial crown on the head of Lewis V[1]. LETTER XLI. A. D. 1322.

DURING the courſe of theſe ſtruggles was fought, between the Swiſs and Auſtrians, the memorable battle of Morgart; which eſtabliſhed the liberty of Swiſſerland, as the victory of Marathon had formerly done that of Greece: and Attic eloquence only was wanting to render it equally famous. Sixteen hundred Swiſs, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeated an army of twenty thouſand Auſtrians, in paſſing the mountains near Morgart, in 1315, and drove them out of the country with terrible ſlaughter. The alliance which theſe three cantons had entered into for the term of ten years, was now converted into a perpetual league; and the other cantons occaſionally joined in it[2].

LEWIS V. had no ſooner humbled the duke of Auſtria, than a new antagoniſt ſtarted up:—he had the pope to encounter. The reigning pontiff at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315, by the influence of Philip the Long, king of France. John was the ſon of a cobler, and one of thoſe men, who, raiſed to power by chance or merit, are haughty in proportion to the meanneſs of their birth. He had not hitherto, however, interfered in the affairs of the empire; but now, all at once, he ſet himſelf up as its judge and maſter. He declared the election of Lewis void: he maintained, that it was the right of the ſovereign pontiff to examine and confirm the election of emperors; that the government, during a vacancy, belonged to him: and he commanded the emperor, by virtue of his A. D. 1324.

1. Avent. *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii. 2. Simler, *de Repub. Helvetio.*

PART I. A. D. 1324. apoſtolic power, to lay aſide the imperial enſigns, until he ſhould receive permiſſion from the Holy See to reaſſume them [3].

SEVERAL attempts were made by Lewis towards a reconciliation with his Holineſs, but in vain: the proud pontiff was inflexible, and would liſten to no reaſonable conditions. The emperor, therefore, jealous of the independency of his crown, endeavoured to ſtrengthen his intereſt both in Italy and Germany. He continued the government of Milan in the family of the Viſconti, who were rather maſters than magiſtrates of that city; and he conferred the government of Lucca on Caſtruccio Caſtruccani, a celebrated captain, whoſe life is pompouſly written by Machiavel. The German princes were moſtly in his intereſt, and no leſs jealous than he of the dignity of the empire.

A. D. 1325. ENRAGED at ſuch firmneſs, pope John excommunicated and depoſed the emperor Lewis, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, king of France, elected in his room. But this attempt miſcarried. None of the German princes, except Leopold of Auſtria, came to the place appointed for an interview with the French monarch; and the imprudent and ambitious Charles returned chagrined and diſappointed into his own dominions [4].

A. D. 1327. THUS freed from a dangerous rival, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to eſtabliſh his authority in that country. He was crowned at Milan, and afterwards at Rome; where he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Auguſtine

3. Steph. Baluzii, *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* vol. i. 4. Villani, lib. ix.

friar:

friar: "Is there any one who will defend the cauſe of "the prieſt of Cahors, who calls himſelf pope John?" —And no perſon appearing, ſentence was immediately pronounced againſt his Holineſs. Lewis declared him convicted of hereſy, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices, and delivered him over to the ſecular power, in order to ſuffer the puniſhment of fire; and Peter Rainaucci, a Neapolitan Cordelier, was created pope under the name of Nicholas V[5]. LETTER XLI. A.D. 1328.

But Lewis, notwithſtanding this mighty parade, was ſoon obliged, like his predeceſſors, to quit Italy, in order to quell the troubles of Germany; and pope John, though a refugee on the banks of the Rhone, recovered his authority in Rome. The Imperialiſts were expelled the city; and Nicholas V. the emperor's pope, was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope about his neck, he publicly implored forgiveneſs of his rival, and ended his days in priſon[6].

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in peace at Munich, having ſettled the affairs of Germany. But he ſtill lay under the cenſures of the church, and the pope continued to ſolicit the princes of the empire to revolt againſt him. Lewis was preparing to aſſemble a general council, in order to depoſe his Holineſs a ſecond time, when the death of John made ſuch a meaſure unneceſſary, and relieved the emperor from all dread of the ſpiritual thunder. This turbulent pope, who firſt invented the taxes for diſpenſations and mortal ſins, died immenſely rich. He was ſucceeded in the papacy by James Fournier, ſurnamed the White Cardinal, who aſſumed the name of Benedict XII[7]. A.D. 1334.

5. Baluzii, ubi ſup. 6. Ibid. 7. Baluz. *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.*

PART I. A. D. 1334. THE new pope, who ſeemed deſirous to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, confirmed all the bulls which had been iſſued by John againſt the emperor. But Lewis had now affairs of more importance to engage his attention than thoſe impotent fulminations. John of Luxemburg, ſecond ſon of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, ſurnamed Great Mouth, heireſs of Carinthia; and that princeſs accuſing her huſband of impotency, a biſhop of Friſingen diſſolved the marriage, and ſhe eſpouſed the margrave of Brandenburg, ſon of the emperor Lewis, who readily conſented to a match that added Tyrol and Carinthia to the poſſeſſions of his family. This marriage produced a war between the houſes of Bavaria and Bohemia, which laſted only one year, but occaſioned abundance of bloodſhed; and the parties came A. D. 1336. to a very ſingular accommodation. John of Luxemburg confeſſed that his wife had reaſon to forſake him, renounced all claim to her, and ratified her marriage with the margrave of Brandenburg[8].

THIS affair being ſettled, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appeaſe the domeſtic troubles of the empire, which were ſtill kept alive by the intrigues of the pope; and notwithſtanding all the injuries and inſults he had ſuſtained, he made ſeveral attempts towards an accommodation with the Holy See. But theſe negociations being rendered ineffectual by the influence of France, the princes of the empire, eccleA. D. 1338 ſiaſtical as well as ſecular, aſſembled at Frankfort, and eſtabliſhed that famous conſtitution, by which it was irrevocably fixed, "That the plurality of the ſuffra"ges of the electoral college confers the empire, "without the conſent of the Holy See; that the

8. *Hiſt. de Luxembourg.*

"pope

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"pope has no ſuperiority over the emperor of Germany, nor any right to approve or reject his election; and that to maintain the contrary is high-treaſon." They alſo refuted the abſurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire, during a vacancy; and declared, That this right appertains, by ancient cuſtom, to the count Palatine of the Rhine[9]. A.D. 1338.

GERMANY now enjoyed for ſome years what it had ſeldom known, the bleſſings of peace; which was again interrupted by the court of Avignon. Benedict XII. was ſucceeded in the papacy by Clement VI. a native of France, and ſo haughty and enterpriſing as to affirm that his "predeceſſors did not know what it was to be "popes." He began his pontificate with renewing all the bulls iſſued againſt Lewis; with naming a vicar general of the empire in Lombardy, and endeavouring to make all Italy ſhake off the emperor's authority.

LEWIS, ſtill deſirous of an accommodation with the Holy See, amidſt all theſe acts of enmity, ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Avignon. But the conditions preſcribed by his Holineſs were ſo unreaſonable, that they were rejected with diſdain by a diet of the empire, as an inſult upon the imperial dignity. Clement, more incenſed than ever at this inſtance of diſregard, fulminated new excommunications againſt the emperor. "May the wrath of God," ſays the enraged pontiff in one of his bulls, "and of St. Peter "and St. Paul, cruſh him in this world, and that "which is to come! May the earth open and ſwallow him alive; may his memory periſh, and all A.D. 1346.

9. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap. xxvi.

"the

PART I. A. D. 1346. "the elements be his enemies; and may his children "fall into the hands of his adverſaries, even in the "ſight of their father [10]."

CLEMENT iſſued another bull for the election of a new emperor; and Charles of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, afterwards known by the name of Charles IV. ſon and heir of John king of Bohemia, having made the neceſſary conceſſions to his Holineſs, was elected king of the Romans by a faction. Lewis, A. D. 1347. however, maintained his authority till his death, which happened ſoon after the election of his rival; when Charles, rather by his money than his valour, got poſſeſſion of the imperial throne.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, a ſingular ſcene was exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, a private citizen of Rome, but an eloquent, bold, enterprizing man, and a patriot, ſeeing that city abandoned by the emperors and the popes, ſet himſelf up as the reſtorer of the Roman liberty and the Roman power. Proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in poſſeſſion of the Capitol, he declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But theſe convulſive ſtruggles of long expiring freedom, like many others, proved ineffectual. Rienzi, who ſtyled himſelf "the ſevere though merciful Deliverer of Rome, "the zealous Aſſertor of the Liberties of Italy, and "the Lover of all Mankind," as he attempted to imitate the Gracchi, met the ſame fate, being murdered by the patrician faction [12].

A SCENE no leſs extraordinary was, about this time, exhibited at Naples. The kingdoms of Naples and

10. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. 12. Id. ibid.

Sicily

Sicily ſtill continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the houſe of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert of Anjou, ſon of Charles the Lame, though he had failed in his attempt to recover poſſeſſion of Sicily, had made Naples a flouriſhing kingdom. He died in 1343, and left his crown to Joan his grand-daughter, who had married her relation Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, elected king of Hungary; a match which ſeemed to cement the happineſs and proſperity of that houſe, but proved the ſource of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, though but eighteen years of age, inſiſted that he ſhould only be conſidered as the queen's huſband. A Franciſcan friar, called Brother Robert, by whoſe advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and diſcord between the royal pair; and the Hungarians, of whom Andrew's court was chiefly compoſed, excited the jealouſy of the Neapolitans, who conſidered them as barbarians. It was therefore reſolved, in a council of the queen's favourites, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly ſtrangled in his wife's antichamber: and Joan married the prince of Tarentum, who had been publicly accuſed of the murder of her huſband, and was well known to have been concerned in that bloody deed. How ſtrong a preſumption of her own guilt!

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A. D. 1347.

In the meantime Lewis king of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of that unfortunate prince on her and her accomplices. He accordingly ſet out for Naples by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he publicly accuſed Joan, before the tribune Rienzi; who during the exiſtence of his tranſitory power,

A. D. 1348.

PART I. A.D. 1348.

power, beheld ſeveral kings appealing to his tribunal, as was cuſtomary in the times of the ancient republic. Rienzi however declined giving his deciſion; a moderation by which he at leaſt gave one example of his prudence: and Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying along with him a black ſtandard, on which was painted the moſt ſtriking circumſtances of Andrew's murder. He ordered a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the regicide, to be beheaded. Joan and her huſband fled into Provence; where finding herſelf utterly abandoned by her ſubjects, ſhe waited on pope Clement VI. at Avignon, a city of which ſhe was ſovereign, as counteſs of Provence, and which ſhe ſold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thouſand florins in gold, which a celebrated hiſtorian tells us were never paid. Here ſhe pleaded her cauſe in perſon before the pope, and was acquitted. But perhaps the deſire of poſſeſſing Avignon had ſome influence upon the judgment of his Holineſs.

CLEMENT's kindneſs did not ſtop here. In order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, he propoſed that Joan ſhould pay him a ſum of money; but as ambition or avarice had no ſhare in Lewis's enterprize, he generouſly replied, "I am not come "hither to ſell my brother's blood, but to revenge A.D. 1352. "it!" and as he had partly effected his purpoſe he went away ſatisfied, though the kingdom of Naples was in his power[12]. Joan recovered her dominions, but only to become more wretched. Of her unhappy fate, I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak.

12. Villani, lib. xii.

WE

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WE muſt now return to the affairs of the emperor Charles IV. This prince, who was equally diſtinguiſhed by his weakneſs and pride, had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of Germany, than he went to receive the imperial crown at Rome, where he behaved in a manner more puſillanimous than any of his predeceſſors. The coronation ceremony was no ſooner performed than he retired without the walls, in conſequence of an agreement which he had made with the pope; though the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and entreated him to re-eſtabliſh their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the propoſal. But being apprehenſive of ſome treachery, he ſneaked off in the evening, under pretence of going to take the diverſion of hunting. And he afterwards ratified and confirmed many promiſes extorted from him by Clement VI. very much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy [13]. A.D. 1355.

THE poet Petrarch, ſo highly celebrated for his love-verſes, wrote a letter to Charles upon this occaſion, in which are found theſe ſpirited words: A.D. 1356.

"You have then promiſed upon oath, never to return "to Rome!—What ſhameful conduct in an emperor, "to be compelled by a prieſt to content himſelf with "the bare title of Cæſar, and to exile himſelf for "ever from the habitation of the Cæſars! to be "crowned emperor, and then prohibited from reign-"ing, or acting as head of the empire!—What an "inſult upon him who ought to command the univerſe, "to be no longer maſter of himſelf, but reduced to "obey his own vaſſal [14]!"

13. Fleury, tom. xx. liv. xcvi.

14. *De Vit. Solit.* lib. ii.

THIS

PART I. A. D. 1266.

THIS emperor ſeemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predeceſſors; for he not only diſcouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibelines, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually ſupported the Guelphs. By theſe means he procured the favour of the pope and his dependants, who flattered him with the moſt fulſome adulation; but the Italians in general viewed him with contempt, and the greater part of the towns attached to the empire ſhut their gates againſt him. At Cremona he was obliged to wait two hours without the walls, before he received the anſwer of the magiſtrates; who, at laſt, only permitted him to enter as a ſimple ſtranger, without arms or retinue [15].

Charles IV. made a more reſpectable figure after his return to Germany. The number of electorates had been fixed ſince the time of Henry VII. more by cuſtom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The duke of Bavaria preſumed he had a right to elect as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their family; and the younger brothers of the houſe of Saxony believed themſelves entitled to vote, as well as the elder. The emperor therefore reſolved to ſettle theſe points, that due ſubordination might take place, and future elections be conducted without confuſion or diſorder. For this purpoſe he ordered a diet to be aſſembled at Nuremburg, where the famous conſtitution, called the *Golden Bull*, was eſtabliſhed, in the preſence, and with the conſent of all the princes, biſhops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities.

15. Barre, tom. ii. Spond. *Contin.* Baron. tom. i.

THE

THE ſtyle of this celebrated charter partakes ſtrongly of the ſpirit of the times. It begins with an apoſtrophe to Satan, anger, pride, luxury: and it ſays, that it is neceſſary the number of electors ſhould be Seven, in order to oppoſe the Seven mortal ſins. It ſpeaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradiſe, of Pompey and of Cæſar; and it aſſerts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity. The ſeven electors were, as formerly premiſed, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. A. D. 1356.

THE imperial dignity, which of itſelf then conferred little real power, never ſhewed more of that luſtre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on the publication of this famous edict. The three eccleſiaſtical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared in the proceſſion with the ſeals of the empire: the archbiſhop of Mentz carried that of Germany, the archbiſhop of Cologne that of Italy, and the archbiſhop of Triers that of Gaul; though the empire now poſſeſſed nothing in Gaul, except a claim to empty homage for the remains of the kingdoms of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné. How little power Charles had in Italy, we have already ſeen. Beſides granting to the pope all the lands claimed by the Holy See, he left the family of Viſconti in the quiet poſſeſſion of Milan and Lombardy, which they had uſurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona [16]. I muſt now return to the ceremonial.

16. Id. ibid.

THE

PART V. A.D. 1356.

The duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, who repreſented the king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, preſented the emperor with his drink, poured from a golden flagon into a cup of the ſame metal; the duke of Saxony, as grand-marſhal, appeared with a ſilver meaſure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg preſented the emperor and empreſs with water to waſh in a golden ewer, placed in a golden baſon; and the count Palatine ſerved up the victuals in golden diſhes, in preſence of all the great officers of the empire [17].

The latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable tranſaction, except the ſale of the imperial juriſdictions in Italy; which were again reſumed, and again ſold. Charles, who was reputed a good prince, but a weak emperor, was A.D. 13.. ſucceeded in all his poſſeſſions and dignities by his ſon Winceſlaus, whom I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention.—We muſt now proceed to the affairs of England; remarking by the way, that Charles IV. was an encourager of letters, and founded the univerſity of Prague.

17. Heiſs, liv. ii. chap. 27.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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